Vol. XXXII. No. 125 *March 1943*

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

I. Nigeria Calling—for Irish Doctors — *Edward Leen*

II. Comments on the foregoing Article — *Patrick J. Costelloe*

Henry Moore *James Bastible* *Alex. Spain*

Michael Tierney *J. C. O'Flaherty* *Joseph Barnes*

III. Milton and some Critics .... — *J. J. Hogan*

IV. The Beveridge Report and Éire .... — *Cornelius Lucey*

V. Chemical Research and our Industries — *Thomas Dillon*

VI. Franz Werfel and "The Song of Bernadette" — *M. M. Macken*

VII. Agriculture and Urban Employment — *Henry Kennedy*

VIII. Aquinas versus Marx .... — *Alfred O'Rahilly*

IX. Rose Hawthorne Lathrop .... — *Charlotte M. Kelly*

X. Facts and Fancies: Physics and Philosophy — *Henry V. Gill*

XI. Dictionary of Irishmen in France .... — *Richard Hayes*

XII. A Missionary Adventure of the Solomon Islands — *M. Garahy*

XIII. Irish Bardic Poems—No. 65 .... — *Lambert McKenna*

XIV. Reviews of Books

Dublin—The Educational Company of Ireland Limited
London and St. Louis—B. Herder
Melbourne—William P. Linehan

Editorial Offices: 35 Lower Leeson Street, Dublin

Single Copies - - - - 3s. 6d. net
Annual Subscription, post free to all countries, 15s. net
Subscriptions are payable in advance

Entered as Second Class Matter at the Post Office in St. Louis

Coláiste na hIolscoile, Gaillimh

Tá Cúrsaí iomlána i nGaeilge le fagáil sa gColáiste seo ar Laidin, Gréigis, Riomhaireacht, Tíreolaíocht, Staidéar, Seandálaíocht, Tráchtáil, Cuntasaíocht, Geilleagar, Oideachas agus Fisic Turgnamhach.

Tá Cúrsaí iomlána i mBéarla le fagáil sa gColáiste seo ar gach Dáimh léiginn dá mbaineann le hOllscoil Náisiúnta na hÉireann.

Tairgeann an Coláiste Scoláireachta coitchiannta ar fiú £1,000 sa mbliadain agus ten a choir sin cuirtear £1,000 i n-airgid, gach bliadain, le hagaid Scoláireacht do Gaeilgeoirí ar an nGaedhealtacht.

Tairgeann an Roinn Oideachais Roinnt Scoláireacht gach bliadain, le hagaid Gaeilgeoir ar an nGaedhealtacht. Is fiú £110 an bliadain gach ceann aca. Na Mic-léiginn ar a mbronnfar na Scoláireachta seo, ní mór dóib a bheit 'na Mic-léiginn sa gColáiste seo.

Tá gach caoi agus deis ann le labhairt na Gaeilge do chleachtadh taob istigh agus taob amuigh den Choláiste.

Tuilleamh eolais le fagáil ó Meadhánaidhe an Choláiste.

PROVIDENCE WOOLLEN MILLS

FOXFORD, CO. MAYO, IRELAND

Offer the greatest variety of pure woollen goods ever produced by an Irish mill—viz. Blankets, Rugs, Ladies' and Men's Wear, Scarves, etc.

INQUIRIES SOLICITED

Telephone No.: "Foxford 4."
Telegraphic Address: "Providence, Foxford."

THE SOLUTION

An inadequate heating system is a costly liability, whether in Church, School, Convent, Hospital, or any class of Public Building. To instal Central Heating is a profitable investment —safe, reliable, simple to control, inexpensive to operate. Musgrave will be pleased to advise you as to the method best suited to your requirements.

MUSGRAVE AND CO. (Dublin) LIMITED
29 MERRION SQUARE NORTH
DUBLIN - PHONE 64972

Coláiste Ollscoile, Corcaigh.

(Ollscoil na h-Éireann)

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, CORK.

Lán-chúrsaí i gcóir Céimeann agus Dioplómaí in na hacadamaibh seo:—

Ealaíona (*Arts*)	Leigheas (*Medicine*)
Teanglanna Ceilteacha (*Celtic Studies*)	Fiaclóireacht (*Dentistry*)
Eolaíocht (*Science*)	Dlí (*Law*)
Tráchtáil (*Commerce*)	Oideachas (*Education*)
Innealtóireacht (*Engineering*)	Ceol (*Music*)

Bainneoloíocht (*Dairy Science*)

Chun lán-eolas an Scoláireachtaí agus an Chúrsaí d'fhágáil, ní foláir gach leitir do sheoladh chun an CLÁRAITHEORA.

Oibríocht compóirtheach le fágáil san **HONAN HOSTEL** ag seanaibh Caitliceacha agus i **LA RETRAITE** ag mnáibh Caitliceacha. Tuairisc iomlán orthu san le fágáil ón gCoimeádaithe agus ón Abhmáthair fé seach. Is féidir fhreisin liosta de lóistíneacha ceadaithe d'fhágáil ach a lorg ón Rúnaithe an Choláiste.

For particulars as to Scholarships and Courses all communications should be addressed to the **Registrar.**

Comfortable accommodation is provided for Catholic men in the HONAN HOSTEL and for Catholic women in LA RETRAITE. Particulars may be obtained from the **Warden** and **Rev. Superioress** respectively. A list of approved Lodgings can also be had from the **Secretary** of the College.

THE
NATIONAL
CITY BANK
LIMITED

Offers to the public a complete Banking Service

CURRENT AND DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS. HOME SAFES FOR THRIFT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS. BILLS DISCOUNTED. EXECUTOR AND TRUSTEE BUSINESS.

10 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN

THE
PATRIOTIC Assurance Company Ltd.

FIRE, ACCIDENT, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION, BURGLARY, PLATE GLASS, MOTOR, &c., &c.

Registered and Head Office **9 College Green, DUBLIN, C1**

CAPITAL FULLY PAID £150,000

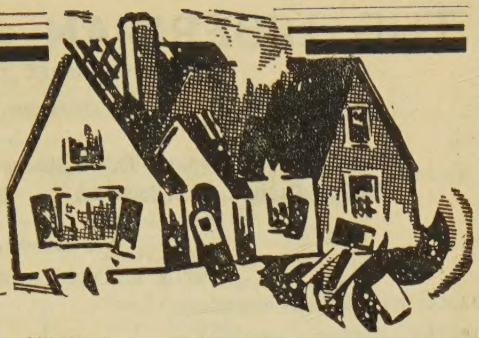
DIRECTORS

THOMAS GEOGHEGAN, Esq., F.C.A., Chairman
Rt. Hon. EARL OF WICKLOW
Major T. D. HALLINAN
T. C. MACDOUGALD, Esq., Managing Director
GEO. W. VERDON, Secretary

Low Rates of Premium and prompt and liberal Settlement of Claims
The position of the Company is amply secured independent of Capital

Proposal Form and all Information on application to Company's Agents or to the Company

WHO KNOWS?



This could be YOUR house. Little things neglected often result in big tragedies ; and fires arise from most unexpected sources—and at most unexpected times. Are YOU prepared for such an eventuality ? Or would its occurrence ruin you financially ? Save yourself unnecessary trouble and worry by insuring your property with a company of sound financial standing—an Irish Office.

THE

HIBERNIAN

FIRE AND GENERAL INSURANCE CO., LTD.

46 - 49 DAME STREET, DUBLIN

O'Keeffe's

THE NATIONAL BANK

LIMITED

ESTABLISHED 1835

34 COLLEGE GREEN
DUBLIN

CAPITAL £7,500,000.

13 OLD BROAD STREET
LONDON, E.C.2

EXECUTOR and TRUSTEE

Appointments accepted as Executor and Trustee of Wills, Trustee of Settlements, Trustee for Debenture Holders, etc. The Bank will act jointly with another Executor or Trustee if desired and will have regard to the wishes of customers in the employment of Solicitors and other professional agents.

INCOME TAX

Expert attention given to Repayment Claims, Returns for Assessment, etc.

FULL INFORMATION MAY BE OBTAINED FROM ANY BRANCH OF THE BANK OR BY DIRECT APPLICATION TO ITS PRINCIPAL OFFICES

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

INCORPORATED IN IRELAND

ESTABLISHED 1825

Subscribed Capital, 500,000 Shares of £4 each, £2,000,000
Paid-up Capital..... £500,000 | Reserve Fund..... £750,000

DIRECTORS:

MARTIN FRANCIS MAHONY, *Chairman.*

JAMES FREDERICK BOYDELL.
HENRY JOSEPH CAMPBELL.
THOMAS VINCENT MURPHY.
CHARLES MARTIN O'KELLY.
STAMFORD HEARN ROCHE.
GEORGE ROCHE, *General Manager.*

AUDITORS:
KEAN & CO., Chartered Accountants, 30 Westmoreland Street.

HEAD OFFICE—27 COLLEGE GREEN, DUBLIN.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 25th day of January, 1943.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1942, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date, and a copy of the Auditors' Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£35,101 15 3
To which has to be added:—	
Balance of undivided profits from last Account ...	27,729 1 5
	£62,830 16 8
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of	£10,000 0 0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:	
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of **Eleven** per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	£27,500 0 0
To next Account	25,330 16 8
	£62,830 16 8

The Reserve Fund now stands at £750,000.

The Directors retiring by rotation are MR. JAMES FREDERICK BOYDELL and MR. STAMFORD HEARN ROCHE. They are elegible and offer themselves for re-election.

In accordance with the provisions of the Companies (Consolidation) Act, 1908, it will be necessary for the Shareholders to elect Auditors for the ensuing year. MESSRS. KEAN & COMPANY, the present Auditors, offer themselves for re-election,

By Order of the Board,
GEORGE ROCHE,
General Manager.

DUBLIN 11th JANUARY, 1943.

Shareholders are requested to notify the Secretary of any **change of address.**

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

INCORPORATED IN IRELAND.

Dr. **BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1942.** Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.
To Capital, viz.:—500,000 Shares of £4 each—£2,000,000; amount paid up, £1 per Share	500,000 0 0	By Cash in hand and with Bankers .	2,323,434 19 3
,, Reserve Fund	750,000 0 0	,, Investments, Irish and British Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding, as per Contra)	7,463,484 13 9
,, Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding ... £550,000 0 0 *Less*: Held by the Bank ... 26,998 0 0	523,002 0 0	Other Securities	168,561 0 2
			£9,955,480 13 2
,, Deposit, Current, and other Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	13,276,927 0 8	,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ...	5,009,009 3 2
,, Profit and Loss Account ...	52,830 16 8	,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 56 Branches), at cost, less amounts written off	138,270 1 0
	£15,102,759 17 4		£15,102,759 17 4

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 31st DECEMBER, 1942.

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Dividend to be paid in February, 1943, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £ s. d. 27,500 0 0		By Balance from last Account ...	27,729 1 5
,, Reserve Fund ... 10,000 0 0		,, Net Profit for Half-year, after payment of Expenses of Management including Directors' Fees (£2,000) and providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts, Revenue Taxes, Contingencies, and all other outlay	35,101 15 3
,, Balance to next Acct. 25,330 16 8	62,830 16 8		
	£62,830 16 8		£62,830 16 8

AUDITORS' REPORT

We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required in the course of our examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

We have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 31st December, 1942, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. We have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in our opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

KEAN & COMPANY, Chartered Accountants,
Auditors.

DUBLIN, 11th JANUARY, 1943.

MARTIN F. MAHONY,
JAMES F. BOYDELL, } *Directors.*
STAMFORD H. ROCHE

GEORGE ROCHE, *General Manager.*

GILL'S NEW BOOKS

CHRISTIANITY IN DAILY LIFE

An Outline Philosophy of Life. By Rev. H. V. Gill, S.J. Wrapper, 3/6. Cloth Boards, 4/6. Postage, 4d.

CHRIST'S HOMELAND

Vivid pen-pictures of the scenes of Our Lord's labours, miracles and sufferings in the Holy Land. With Illustrations. By Rev. D. Riordan, P.P. Wrapper, 3/–. Postage, 3d.

CATHAL BRUGHA

Scéal a shaothair is a chrodhachta agus gniomhartha gloire na hEireann ar feadh ceathramhadh céad bliadhan. O Iaimh Sceilg .i. Seán Ua Ceallaigh. 7/6. Costas Poist, 8d.

RECENT SUCCESSFUL BOOKS

THE PERSON OF JESUS

By Father James, O.F.M.Cap., M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. First Published June, 1942. Second Printing NOW READY. Wrapper, 3/–. Cloth Boards, 4/–. Postage, 4d. *"I am inclined to think this is the best book Father James has written."—Irish Monthly.*

THE FOURTEEN STATIONS OF THE CROSS

With Illustrations. By Rev. Denis O'Shea, C.C. The object of this little book is to provide readers with interesting information about the events of each Station, and to make them familiar with the scenes of the Passion. Wrapper, 1/–. Postage, 2d.

M. H. GILL & SON LTD.

50 UPPER O'CONNELL ST., DUBLIN

and from all booksellers

NEW BOOKS

THE SCHOOLS AND SCHOLARS OF BREIFFNE

By Philip O'Connell, M.Sc., Ph.D.
£2 : 2s. : 0d. nett.

This important contribution to the history of Education in Ireland has received the due approbation of the National University of Ireland.

Maps and Illustrations.

THE MEDIEVAL GILD SYSTEM

By Rev. George Clune, B.A., D.Ph.
7s. 6d. nett.

This important work by Dr. Clune gives us a complete picture of the social, economic and industrial system of the towns of Medieval England. The last chapter bears the suitable title "The Gild Principles and To-Day." The book admirably meets a want which is felt by every thoughtful man.

THE LAW COURTS IN EIRE

By L. G. Coyne, D.J. **5s. nett.**

A history of the Courts of the Irish Revolution, which should have a place on the shelves of all Irish people.

CHALLENGE FROM YOUTH

By Rev. R. S. Devane, S.J. **10s. 6d. nett.**

The first work to present a comprehensive study of youth in modern Youth Movements.

STUDIES IN LIFE. BY AND LARGE

By Rev. S. J. Brown, S.J. **8s. 6d. nett.**

Consisting of Talks on the problems of everyday life, in these troubled times, this book should be a welcome gift to the ordinary man in the street, in need of a little spiritual consolation.

BROWNE & NOLAN

LIMITED

DUBLIN : BELFAST : CORK

And all Booksellers

RECENT BOOKS *from*
THE TALBOT PRESS

HANRAHAN'S DAUGHTER

A BRILLIANT FIRST NOVEL. By PATRICK PURCELL.

In this warmly human story the writer, a Kilkenny man, gives a rich picture of the life and people of the Suirside—their daily work on the farm and in the home, their hurling and greyhound racing, their dancing and merry-making, their vivid talk and their happy-go-lucky hospitality.

First Edition Sold Out. *Reprinting.* Price **7/6** net.

BY SHADOWED WAYS

By ANNIE M. P. SMITHSON.

As absorbing a romance as any that this popular novelist has penned. Price **7/6** net.

WATERGATE

By FRANCIS MacMANUS.

A novel written with that combination of strength and grace associated with the earlier writings of Francis MacManus.

Price **6/-** net.

"nuair a bí mé óg"

A beathaisnéis féin do Scríob

"Máire"

(Séamus Ó Grianna)

Seo Sárscéal ar a saoghal féin ó láimh oilte an scríobnóra mórcáile seo ó Gaeltacht an Tuaiscirt. Is é barr-saothar litearthóra an ughdair é. Le ceannach ar **6/-** net.

Complete Lists Free on application to

THE TALBOT PRESS LIMITED
TALBOT STREET, DUBLIN

OR ANY BOOKSELLER

The Irish Messenger of the Sacred Heart

Published monthly. Price 2d., by post 3d.
Annual Subscription 3s., post free.

THE MADONNA

Published monthly. Price 1d.; by post 1½d.
Annual Subscription 1s. 6d., post free.
Annual Subscription to MESSENGER and MADONNA when sent together 4s. post free.

timéire an chroide naomhta

Published quarterly. Price 2d.; by post 3d.
Annual Subscription 1s., post free.

The Catalogue for 1941 will be sent gratis and post free on request

OFFICE OF THE IRISH MESSENGER
5 Great Denmark Street, DUBLIN, C.16

T. & C. MARTIN LTD.

D'Olier House, Dublin

IRISH-MADE

Church and School Furniture

Telephone
Dublin 71571 (P.B.Exch.)

Telegrams
"Martin, Dublin"

Works: **NORTH WALL, DUBLIN**

The
Irish Digest
Mainly of Irish interest, but articles of world-wide interest also included.
Over 40 long articles and many pages of instructive and amusing snippets in each issue.
Published monthly by C. J. Fallon Ltd., 109 Marlborough St. (opposite Abbey Theatre), Dublin.

PRINTED BY MESSRS. CAHILL & CO.
Parkgate Printing Works - - - Dublin

The IRISH DIGEST is a monthly publication and was first published July 1938.

It keeps readers up-to-date in Irish affairs—Cultural — Historical — Social.

The format, size and general production are fully up to world standards.

ONE SHILLING MONTHLY

FROM ALL BOOKSELLERS AND NEWSAGENTS

SCHOOL YEAR 1942-43

THE IONA SCHOOL READERS

BEGINNER'S BOOK | JUNIOR BOOK
PREPARATORY BOOK | SENIOR BOOK

FRENCH

FRENCH GRAMMAR AND COMPOSITION
By Very Rev. J. A. MORAN, S.M., B.A.

MON LIVRE DE FRANCAIS By Rev. J. DAWSON, S.M. (New Revised Edition)

ENGLISH

SPELLING BOOK | ENGLISH GRAMMAR
FIRST ENGLISH GRAMMAR | BALLADS OF IRISH HISTORY
LESSONS IN GRAMMAR | GENERAL INFORMATION

ALEX. THOM & CO. LTD., Publishers, CROW ST., DUBLIN

UNIVERSITY HALL, DUBLIN

FOUNDED AND DIRECTED BY THE JESUIT FATHERS

University Hall is maintained exclusively as an academic residence for students who are pursuing university studies in the City of Dublin. The buildings stand close by the site of University College, Dublin. They can accommodate seventy students—an academic community sufficiently large to furnish opportunity for the mutual culture in social intercourse which is among the most important advantages of university life, and an essential factor in university education.

TERMS

There are three Terms in the year: Michaelmas Term, from the beginning of the Session till the Christmas Vacation; Hilary Term, between Christmas and Easter; and Trinity Term, from Easter till the Summer Vacation. The opening and close of Terms coincide with the opening and close of Lectures at University College, Dublin.

FEES

The Residence Fees are Twenty-five Guineas a Term: or, for the Session, £76 if paid in advance.

Parents residing abroad can make special arrangements for Students' vacation expenses.

Applications for admission and inquiries for further information should be addressed to THE PRESIDENT
University Hall, DUBLIN

THE PRACTICAL SCHOOL

CONVENT OF ST. LOUIS

RAMSGRANGE, WATERFORD

Under Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction

THE SCHOOL FOR FARMERS' DAUGHTERS

TRAINED AND SPECIALLY QUALIFIED TEACHERS APPOINTED AND PAID BY DEPARTMENT.

THIRTY FREE PLACES AVAILABLE EVERY YEAR, GRANTED BY DEPARTMENT.

PRACTICAL INSTRUCTION IN MILKING, DAIRYING, POULTRY-KEEPING, COOKERY, DRESSMAKING, HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY, LAUNDRY WORK, HORTICULTURE.

Full Particulars from THE SISTER IN CHARGE

NIGERIA CALLING—FOR IRISH DOCTORS

BY EDWARD LEEN, C.S.SP., D.D., D.LITT.

AMONGST the lady-students who presented themselves this autumn for the opening classes of the Medical School in University College, Dublin, might be noticed a small group sharply differentiated from the others. The members of this group obviously did not conform to type. Though they were young, their deportment was marked by a gravity of demeanour not commonly to be found in first-year Medical Students. They were studious, yet they gave themselves to their studies in a strangely detached manner. They worked hard, but the ardour with which they gave themselves to their books did not wear the anxious aspect it reveals in those who study in view of a career. They presented a problem to the others; they aroused interest and curiosity; they gave rise to a considerable amount of speculation. The speculation ceased when it was discovered that the new-comers to the medical ranks were Missionary Sisters who were taking on the study of medicine in view of their work amongst the pagans. The interest aroused by the presence of these young religious women in the Medical School will have served a useful purpose, if it moves their fellow-students to inquire what hard necessity must have forced the nuns to take this unusual step.

There is surely occasion for question when nuns, who have already spent some time within the shelter of convent walls, decide to leave their seclusion and place themselves in a milieu which all the good-will possible can never render quite congenial. Both professors and class-fellows have, by their courtesy and consideration, done much to mitigate the difficulties of the situation. In quite a short time the Sisters have settled into their new and novel surroundings, and there is no indiscreet emphasis laid on their peculiar status. Nevertheless, since the nun does not undertake medical studies either for the purpose of gaining a livelihood or out of purely scientific interest in medicine, her approach to her work must be of a radically different kind from that of her fellow-students. The divergence of outlook between the Missionary Sisters and the others, regarding the work on which they are engaged and the career for which that work is a preparation, is not one that can disappear in the course of a few years. In fact it is essential that it should not, if the purpose the nuns put before them in taking up these studies is to be properly realised.

It would, in the main, defeat that purpose if the nun were to completely merge herself in the medical student; she must ever remain a nun who *lends* her mind to medical studies in the interest of her apostolate amongst the pagans.[1] Hence it is that she can never quite " belong " to the sphere

[1] " They must realise that the care of the sick involves a holy exercise of charity and is meritorious; for while they are relieving bodily pain, they are also preparing the soul for the grace of redemption."—*Instructio S. Cong. de Prop.*, 11 Feb. 1936.

in which she has to spend five or six years of preparation for her medical qualifications. This, necessarily, adds considerably to the strain imposed by studies, very exacting in themselves and undertaken without personal election. The Sisters are chosen for the medical course, not because they have any taste or inclination for such studies, but simply because they are judged sufficiently talented to be able to pursue them successfully. To all this is added the additional disadvantage that, when these young women take up lectures, a considerable time has already lapsed since they have given themselves to mental application of an exacting kind. The years of initiation into religious life exclude, of their nature, all methodical cultivation of secular knowledge. There is considerable difficulty in getting the mind once again to resume activities of which it has, to a great extent, lost the habit. To recapture the one-time facility in learning there is need of considerable self-denial and constancy of will. It is no easy thing, even for these religious women who elect the practice of medicine or nursing as their vocation (as is done by the Medical Missionaries of Mary), to surmount the natural repugnance and the reluctance they must feel in facing a very arduous and long course of studies. The presence of these Sisters in the Medical School is somewhat of an anomaly: when its significance is grasped it conveys a subtle appeal, if not a reproach.

Constraining, indeed, must have been the necessity that moved the late Holy Father, Pius XI, to oppose the conservatism of the Roman Curia and to give to missionary societies of women the permission to undertake medical studies. That the Pope himself should rise superior to the traditional views, according to which the utmost reserve and the least possible contact with secular life was incumbent on nuns, manifests in a very striking way his great breadth of vision and his deep sympathy with the needs of suffering humanity.[1] His heart was deeply moved by the harrowing reports sent to him by his Vicars-Apostolic working amongst the pagan populations. These reports, whilst giving an account of the progress of the Church in the territories committed to the care of the Vicars, stressed the dreadful miseries their poor people suffered from want of proper medical care. These reports set forth the appalling wastage of human life and the vast sum of human suffering due, amongst primitive peoples, to their utter ignorance of the most elementary principles of hygiene and to the unprincipled quackery of the native witch-doctors—in Africa called "dibbias." If the contents of the documents bearing on this question, sent periodically to the Holy See, became known in the medical world, it cannot be doubted that the humanitarian instinct which stirs in the heart of every man with a true medical vocation would be moved to take action. There are, surely, quite a number who, if they

[1] *Cf.* Instruction of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, 11 Feb. 1936.

but knew the facts depicted in these documents and were in a position to bring relief, would not remain indifferent in face of such widespread human agony. The facts could not fail to have on them something of the effect they had on the Heads of Missions and the devoted nuns who worked under their direction. It was the daily contact with the ravages wrought by disease and the acute realisation of their powerlessness to help the sufferers, that determined the Missionary Sisters to break through all precedent and seek to become qualified doctors. Without medical skill, even their heroic charity could effect next to nothing; with it, they could do something to alleviate the human distress that confronted them with mute appeal wherever they turned, even though they knew full well that the amount they themselves, so few in numbers, could accomplish would but remedy an infinitesimal part of the evil. Yet even that much would save them from the keen suffering of a compassion rendered heart-breaking through a sense of helplessness.

Comparatively few realise the actual state of affairs in Central Africa. True, its climate has had a bad reputation in European countries. It was known that its swamps and forests were fever-haunted, and that a white man's life was under constant menace from all sorts of deadly germs. Yet, in spite of this, a vague notion prevails that the native-born, in the midst of unhealthy surroundings, is proof against the diseases that so easily lay hold of the European trader or the political officer. It is presumed that the bright sun under which he lives, the wholesome food which he eats, the open-air life which he leads, and his habituation to the conditions in which he is born, make his system very resistant to infection. The pictures we sometimes see of native warriors—lithe of form, lissom of muscle, splendid physique—heighten this illusion. It is true that one does find among the African tribes very fine specimens of physical manhood, their glistening skins and easy movement giving evidence of the possession of controlled strength and elastic energy. But it must not be forgotten that these are what they are, physically, because they are the survival of the fittest.

Tropical Africa is as cruel to its own native denizens as it is to the white men who penetrate into it for reasons of commerce or of imperial expansion. It is literally a disease-ridden country. The death-rate, especially amongst children and women, is distressingly high and out of all proportion to that which obtains in countries enjoying the amenities of modern civilisation. Death is not the thing most to be dreaded. The diseases that prepare the way for it—in their variety, in their strangeness, in the repulsiveness of their effects, in the excruciating sufferings that most of them entail—are far more terrifying than the final struggle which brings release. The processes of the malady are worse than its ending. By a strange irony of circumstance it is not the native that is immunized against the deadly effects of his own climate; it is the European. At

least, it is so now. By hygienic and prophylactic precautions the white man can now live his life in relative security from disease. Tropical Africa is no longer the white man's grave—except for the few. The missionaries, men and women, find that they can live there the normal length of days, whilst accomplishing far more than the normal amount of work that falls to the lot of those who remain at home. The African is the one who suffers most from Africa. Those who know the actual state of affairs there can feel nothing but exasperation at the suggestions for the betterment of the native African put forward from time to time by modern planners.[1] Being unable to think except in terms of Industrialist Capitalism, their proposals for improvement invariably aim at bringing the black man more and more into the industrial system which is working havoc in the countries of European civilisation. What the African needs above all else is not developed commercial relations with the outside world, but religion, education and health services, with the strengthening and perfecting of native economy. Religion the missionaries are striving hard and with marvellous success to plant in the country. Education, in so far as their limited resources in personnel and money permit, they are also furthering in conjunction with the Government. But the health-services are still, in spite of laudable efforts on the part of the Colonial administration and the different missionary societies, gravely inadequate. The conquest of disease or, at least, the banishment of as much of it as yields to the ordinary measures taken by medical science is the crying need of the hour. When the body is weakened by various forms of latent congenital maladies, education presents difficulties; the brain is slow to take in instruction either of a secular or a religious kind.

Nearly fifty per cent of the children born alive die before they reach the age of ten. Of those who survive, nearly seventy per cent suffer from some form of chronic disease and are, moreover, victims to parasitic worms of various kinds. This is not surprising, as vast numbers of the natives lack the most elementary notions of hygiene. They know absolutely nothing of bacilli and microbes. They do not hesitate to use for household and drinking purposes any kind of water they may happen to find convenient. In my own personal experience I have seen hollows formed, at the side of the roads of beaten mud, to receive the water flowing off from the surface during the rainy season. The stagnant and foul water contained in these improvised receptacles continued to be used, for all purposes, until it was exhausted. This expedient to procure a water-supply was resorted to only in places where a river or natural wells were at a very considerable distance. Women might be seen, at times, fetching pitchers of water a distance of fifteen or twenty miles. It is natural that they should resort to any device to escape such hardship,

[1] This is not universally true. Joyce Cary, in Chapter VI of his *Case for African Freedom*, makes invaluable proposals in the sense of this article.

especially as they have no idea of the possibilities of infection from sources that are not visible to the naked eye. Once a native chief, on being shown through a microscope the immense number of tiny organisms found in a small quantity of water, shrugged his shoulders disdainfully at the suggestion that such insignificant things could constitute a danger to a man. No arguments could shake his incredulity.

It is no wonder that typhus, typhoid and paratyphoid are very prevalent. Tuberculosis is also common in the more populated districts, and the native constitution weakened by malnutrition succumbs readily to this insidious disease. In tropical Africa there is a higher percentage of lepers than in any other part of the world. It is literally heart-rending to visit any of the settlements where these poor creatures are segregated to save their relatives from contagion. So far they receive scarcely any medical attention. The services are too few and inadequate to cope with this scourge. One can get used to many things—even to leprosy; but the impression left after one's first sight of these helpless and isolated sufferers is one that is not easily obliterated from the imagination. Sleeping sickness is rare in the part of Africa with which this article is concerned. But fevers of various kinds abound. The most ordinary is malaria; the most virulent is black-water fever. And these are endemic in many places. Yellow fever and small-pox also claim many victims. But perhaps the greatest shock to the newcomer's preconceived notions of the splendid primitive is the experience that a great percentage of the people he meets as he travels through the bush are infected with yaws. These unsightly sores offend one's eyes at every turn. They do not affect the general health seriously, but they cause considerable inconvenience and suffering. They are the symptoms of evil living, either personal or ancestral. They yield to treatment. If the black man could bear resentment—and as a rule he does not—he would feel internal revolt at seeing himself a prey to so many and varied miseries, whilst the white stranger to his country seems exempt from all but the most ordinary sicknesses.

In this land of suffering the direst part of it falls on the unfortunate women. What they have to go through is unspeakable. It cannot be told in detail. It meets them shortly after childhood and pursues them all through life to the grave. Only one aspect of it need here be touched on—namely, that of which child-birth is the occasion. Tribal customs and the barbaric methods of the native " dibbia " must make the bearing of children a nightmare for the unfortunate mothers, especially when there is any special difficulty experienced. One example suffices to illustrate this. Not long since, a woman in an advanced stage of pregnancy arrived at Ihala seeking aid at the maternity centre conducted by the Sisters. She presented herself at 3 a.m. and was in a pitiable condition. She had been in the unskilled hands of the " dibbia " for two days and nights. She had been whipped because of the difficulty

she experienced. His remedy was to make her swallow food cooked by himself. It made her violently ill. Again she was whipped for being ill. She was carried into the ward screaming with pain. As the Doctor and Sisters proceeded to treat her they discovered, to their indignation, that the woman's right leg had been broken at the hip-joint during the witch-doctor's treatment. When the still-born child was delivered, it was found that a limb had been torn from it in the clumsy attempts made at extraction from the womb. This, of course, was a case of exceptional hardship. But the Sisters' hospital can furnish, in its records, other cases that could match this incident in the extremity of cruelty endured by women at the hands of the native practitioners.

It is not to be wondered at that the rate of mortality amongst women in child-birth is extremely high. The general hardships of their existence, with the rude toil that they are obliged to continue until the very moment of their sickness, are the explanation of the frequency of abnormal births. The Sisters relate an incident of recent occurrence that won them great prestige amongst the people. The wife of an influential native was brought by his relatives to an outlying welfare clinic conducted by the Sisters. The woman was in a very serious state. The clinic was at a considerable distance from the hospital centre, and the Sister was in consternation before the ordeal that faced her. The delivery, to be at all successful, had to be an instrumental one. The husband, a picture of grief and despondency, stood by his wife. Eleven times already he had been frustrated in his hopes of having a living child to gladden his "compound." The brave nun faced the situation with all the nerve she could muster. There was great urgency. As she prepared her instruments, she murmured prayer after prayer. Much was at stake. Should she fail, the religion for which she stood would be regarded as ineffective as that practised by the witch-doctor. It was a task of immense strain. The child was brought forth but apparently lifeless. Snatching at a last hope, the good Sister tried artificial respiration on the inanimate form. Forty minutes elapsed. As she was on the point of giving up in hopelessness the little one stirred. The lungs began to expand and contract. In a few minutes the overjoyed father heard what was to his ears the most musical of sounds—the wail of a living child born to him. The woman rapidly regained her strength and returned triumphant to her home. The whole village, on seeing her with her child in her arms, rose *en masse* and repaired in a body to see the White Sister—"the woman dibbia great beyond all dibbias."

It is but a few years since the Holy Rosary nuns—in this, too, breaking through all precedent—presented themselves, five in number, to take their diploma in Obstetrics at Holles Street Hospital. Having completed their course, they all went to Nigeria. Thanks to them numbers of mothers and children are to-day alive and well who, otherwise, would

now be mingling their ashes with the red soil of Africa. They and the few doctors with them have done much. But how little in comparison with what remains to be done and could be done, if the reality of the situation were brought home to the many young medical men who are casting around in search of an outlet for their zeal and their skill!

The population of the Onitsha-Owerri Vicariate, whose wants are here being stressed, numbers about 2,000,000. Southern Nigeria, of which Onitsha-Owerri is but one of the ecclesiastical divisions, is one of the most densely populated territories in Africa. The climate of this region, as compared with other regions of the continent, is, if due precautions are taken, comparatively healthy. There is a good deal of sickness, for the reasons above given. But much of the disease that prevails is preventable; all that is needed to reduce it to proper proportions is a sufficiency of medical services. The government, to its credit be it said, is fully alive to its duty in this matter and, with its limited resources, does what it can to meet the inadequacy. It recognises that the health of the population is one of its greatest cares. For a long time the missionaries could do nothing but direct their converts to the health centres created by the government. Many reasons of a practical nature have compelled them to turn their attention to supplementing, to the best of their ability, the efforts made by the civil administration. A few central hospitals have been erected, and, with the help of the nuns, a number of " bush " welfare centres and clinics, to be visited periodically, have been established.

Some statistics will give the reader a notion of what is being achieved at the moment of writing. The figures are for the year 1941. At that time, in the Vicariate under the care of Most Rev. Dr. Heerey, there were three general hospitals and eleven maternity clinics—all built by mission funds and staffed by Catholic doctors and nurses. The nursing was done by nuns and native assistants trained by them. The principal hospital was established at a place called Emekuku—in the very heart of the mission and in the midst of a teeming population that included a considerable number of excellent Christians. In charge of the hospital were two German doctors, who had been sent there by the society of Würzburg. As had been mentioned in a previous article, this society defrays the expenses of the medical education of young men who undertake, in return for this favour, to devote ten years of their life to the service of the Church in the pagan mission field. The two men who came to Emekuku worked there with characteristic thoroughness, and with such outstanding success that their reputation for skill spread far and wide amongst the natives. Medical, surgical and gynæcological departments were set up. In the beginning the equipment was of the most skeleton kind. But under the driving influence of the Germans things changed rapidly. Native girls were trained under the supervision of the nuns, who themselves

had taken out their nursing certificates before they left Ireland. Public examinations, as here at home, were instituted by the government. The black girls in due time presented themselves for the tests of much the same difficulty as the probationers in Dublin have to face. Emulation succeeded to the initial attitude of hesitancy which the girls manifested as they comprehended the exacting and onerous duties of the nurse's life. They gradually developed a taste for the work. Gifted with a natural sympathy, gentleness of touch, and exceptional memories, they proved apt pupils when they gave themselves in earnest to their studies, practical and theoretical. The numbers of certificated and registered nurses have grown considerably in quite a short time. *Ten* of the eleven maternity clinics are run by African girls who now hold qualifications in obstetrics recognised by the government.

The work at Emekuku was so arranged that each of the two doctors should acquire as varied an experience as possible. They alternated week by week in the medical and surgical departments, as well as in the dispensary or out-patient section. This last-named section presented, in one day, to the hard worked practitioner a fairly complete cross-section of all the miseries to which African native life is a prey. From three to four hundred patients would pass through his hands in the course of seven or eight hours of the working day. On two days of every week a doctor and a nurse would repair to a " bush " centre, at a distance of thirty or forty miles from the central station. Word would be sent beforehand to the outlying villages. The white " medicine " man and woman, on their arrival in a lorry packed with medical supplies, would find awaiting them a great crowd suffering from all kinds of infirmities. Many would be brought by kind friends from great distances in improvised litters made of native-woven palm mats. The whole would present, even to the unimaginative, a scene reminiscent of the Gospel. The work is gone through in as orderly and efficient a manner as at the hospital dispensary. Experience has brought discipline to the multitudes that press from all quarters for alleviation of their miseries. The natives, who are strong believers in injections, place more faith in the needle than in any other kind of medicine. Their trust in the efficacy of the needle is enhanced if it happens to be somewhat blunt !

The gynæcological wing of the hospital is supervised by a Sister who took her certificate in Holles Street. She is responsible for the training of the native midwives, whose examinations take place in the hospital in May and October of each year. Major operations are frequent ; and it sometimes happens that these are " immediates " sent up after examination by the doctor toiling at the dispensary. The Sisters marvel to find that the native nurses now fall into their posts, when these cases present themselves, with the smooth and quiet efficiency to which we are accustomed here in Ireland. Imposing is the amount of work, in the surgery alone,

tabulated for the twelve months of 1941. The doctors between them did 946 major operations and 575 minor ones—1,521 in all! These operations were of the most varied kind: they included osteotomy, laparotomy, nephrectomy, herniæ, elephantiasis. Cæsarian sections are frequent, as also the removal of eyes damaged in inter-tribal quarrels. Add to all this the vast amount of medical treatment and one can form an idea of the great amount of human suffering that is relieved each year by the Doctors, Sisters, and their native trained assistants. Life is lived at a feverish pace in Emekuku—or rather was. The war has struck a heavy blow at this wonderful creation of Christian charity. The German doctors have been sent away for internment in the West Indies. An Irishman, Doctor Barnes, was summoned from the hospital in Adazi to take their place and to keep things going as best he could. Now he too, his years of voluntary service ended, is on his way back to Ireland.

Besides the hospital at Emekuku, there are two others controlled by the Mission authorities. One is at Ihala, controlled by a nun who was a qualified doctor before entering religion, and the other is at Adazi and was under the charge of Doctor Barnes until the time he was summoned to Emekuku. As the work in these places is of the same kind as at Emekuku, it is not necessary to enter into further details. These two hospitals, like the others, have established "bush" dispensaries that are visited periodically; there attention is given to sufferers coming from remote villages. The following figures will present a summary of the results for the year under examination. The number of patients attended in hospital was 4,980. In the maternity clinics 7,200 normal and 2,320 abnormal cases were dealt with. In the dispensaries there were 89,972 patients treated. These are imposing figures. But, alas! they reveal that only a fraction of the vast population is reached. It is true that there are government hospitals at the three large centres of Port Harcourt, Aba and Enugu. The work done in these establishments is praiseworthy; but, as can be understood, it cannot compare with that accomplished by the devoted Catholic doctors and the nuns.

The natives have come to realise the difference there is in the treatment extended to them in the hospitals under government control as compared with that which they receive in those managed by the Sisters. It is not surprising that petitions from the local chiefs pour in to the Vicar-Apostolic, Dr. Heerey, pleading with him to found in their districts hospitals staffed by doctors from Sisters' country. At a place called Nsukka the native administration offered to build a hospital at their own expense if the mission would furnish the staff. At Okigwe, the people begged the government to give over their hospital to the nuns. And most poignant of all for the Bishop in his powerlessness, the colonial administration expressed its willingness to place two of their hospitals in his hands, if he could find doctors to take charge. It is bitter in the extreme to have to

refuse all these tempting offers, the acceptance of which would mean so much for the salvation of souls and the prestige of the Catholic faith. And now to add to the acuteness of the grief that the Head of the mission must feel because of all this, there comes the internment of the German doctors and the termination of the years of service given by Doctor Barnes. This Irishman has done heroic work in Nigeria and has spent himself there without reserve. The nuns still carry on as best they can, but the range of their services is considerably shortened.

In the circumstances Dr. Heerey, in his pressing appeals, voices the cry of the the stricken population that turns to him for help. That cry of suffering humanity sounds in our ears. Who will go? Is there nobody to reply to it except the few devoted women who are to be seen for some months past wending their way each morning to the lecture halls of University College?

As was said at the end of a former paragraph, the presence of these nuns in the lecture halls is a subtle reproach. It is as if, in spite of themselves and without their intent, their studious attitude voiced the unspoken query: Are we alone our brother's keeper? Of all those who have it in their power to help suffering Africa, does it fall to us alone to give ear to the cry of its men and especially of its women? These nuns would be the last to say that; but, in spite of themselves, their presence in the medical school asks the question. How pertinent it is can be understood by referring to a statement that appeared in the *Sunday Independent* under the date of October 25, 1942. In his address to the Biological Society of the Royal College of Physicians Dr. A. S. ffrench O'Carroll, President-Elect, stated that, of 290 graduates qualified for the medical profession last year in Eire, the country could absorb approximately only 70. Eighty per cent. have to seek careers elsewhere. Of the 200 or more who are obliged to leave the country in search of a living there must certainly be a number who, did they but realise the great service they might render to the cause of the faith and, incidentally, to the cause of Ireland, would scarcely hesitate to direct their thoughts and their steps to Southern Nigeria. There are many reasons that should impel them to do so.

Nigeria is a part of Africa that has been evangelised mainly by Irish priests and nuns. Within its borders to-day, in the several ecclesiastical divisions it comprises, there are thousands of Christians who owe their faith to our countrymen and who are under the pastoral care of Irish Bishops. The number of Catholics is increasing with marvellous rapidity. The increase is so rapid that the Missionaries are finding it difficult to cope with the complex needs of a people amongst whom the Church is assuming the form that it wears when definitely organised. In this condition of complete development, schools and hospitals become for it a matter of serious concern. The educational demands of the neophytes

are being adequately met; provision for their physical welfare has made a good beginning. Nowhere but to Ireland can the Missionaries turn for the help that will bring these beginnings to a measure of completion. A population brought to the faith and ministered to by Irish priests ought to make a strong appeal to the sympathies of Irish doctors. The work to be done should not be left to the efforts of a few nuns, who become doctors not through vocation but through sheer necessity. The traditions of the medical profession permit the firm belief that very many of those qualified each year have chosen the medical career not for the sordid motive of gain, but out of a genuine desire to help suffering humanity.

The doctor has to live, of course, and to live by his work. But it certainly would be unjust to the vast majority of medical men to assume that they do their work solely to gain a livelihood. To the man with the true vocation and real instinct of a doctor the alleviation of human suffering becomes an absorbing preoccupation. When, besides being a medical man, he is a zealous Catholic, he cannot but desire that the service he renders to humanity should subserve its spiritual interests. Were it pointed out to him how his work could assume an apostolic character, he would be far from unwilling that it should serve the interests of the faith. If some of our young medical men were to direct their attention to the magnificent field of opportunity that Southern Nigeria offers to them, they would find at one and the same time scope for their medical ambition and exercise for their apostolic zeal. For every Catholic is bound by his vocation to be an apostle. Doctors are not exempt from this obligation. It can be fulfilled by them in the more perfect way by choosing the pagan mission-field as the sphere of their ministrations.

By responding to the pressing appeals of the Irish Bishop ruling the Vicariate of Onitsha-Owerri a young doctor would be far from sacrificing his own interests to the needs of the Church. A service of a few years in tropical Africa, in the comparatively favourable conditions for the white man's health that now prevail, would prove of immense utility to him from a merely professional point of view. The clinical experience in medicine and surgery gained in a period of five years would give him a great advantage over a man confined to the limited experience of a home practice. The contact with a wide range of diseases and the opportunity of close observation of the courses of strange maladies, especially fevers, would give him an unrivalled knowledge of the powers of resistance, as well as the weakness, of the human organism. A priest with mission experience can put much more initative into his work when he returns to his diocese than one who has, from the beginning of his priestly career, worked within the limits of that diocese. The same is true to a still greater extent when the contrast is between the doctor who has gone abroad for his experience and the doctor whose practical knowledge of illness extends no further than what is gathered from a strictly delimited practice.

It is perhaps through a realisation of this, as well as from a desire to see the world, that medical men " sign on " as ship's doctors. It is not the remuneration that draws them, for it is rather meagre. The adventure, variety, and experience that belong to the life of a doctor on board a ship, are but little as compared with what is offered by work in tropical Africa in companionship with Irish missionary priests and nuns.

Even from the pecuniary point of view such an opening for our young medical men is not to be despised. The contract is only for quite a short period—usually of three years' duration. At choice it can be renewed for a similar length of time. The doctor's passage to and from Nigeria is paid, and in case of illness all hospital expenses are charged to the Mission fund. On arrival he finds a commodious house suitably furnished, and large enough to accommodate a wife and family if he is married. A tropical outfit is provided at the start. Holidays, too, are provided for ; the doctor is allowed one month of repose each year ; and with the present advance in aviation, it will be soon possible for him to spend that month in Ireland. A salary of £400 a year is paid to him by the Vicar Apostolic. Although he is expected, in return for this, to give his services wholly to the Mission, yet a limited amount of private practice is permitted. As the cost of living is very low, quite a good sum can be laid by, each year, without undue economy. By the time his three years' service is ended, the doctor serving the Mission returns home anything but penniless. He is not badly off financially, and he is rich in experience.

EDWARD LEEN, C.S.SP.

Comments on the foregoing Article

NO. I.—BY VERY REV. PATRICK J. COSTELLOE

Superior-General of the Society of St. Patrick for Foreign Missions

THIRTY years ago we should have had difficulty in answering the charge that there was little missionary spirit in Ireland ; for our country then gave a very small number of priests and nuns for the conversion of the pagan world. But a great change has come. In the last quarter of a century five Irish Missionary Societies have been founded, and big numbers of our youth join their ranks every year to give their lives for their pagan brethren. In other Missionary Societies having houses in Ireland there has been a remarkable increase in numbers during this period. What is the explanation of this ? Under God it seems to be that the missionary ideal, the need for missionaries and our duty to supply them were put before our people.

When it is realised that doctors are required in the mission field, many will likewise gladly give their services. That Irish doctors are not working on the missions in any numbers now is due to the fact that,

until recently, they were not informed of the need that existed and of the good that they could do. Already two members of the profession, on realising the position, have gone to Nigeria and some medical students are seriously considering following their example. This indicates that the missionary spirit latent in our medical profession is ready for action when once it is aroused. Some good friends in Cork have given a practical lead in establishing burses for the education of doctors for the missions; they already have two students in the university. Surely signs are not wanting of nascent medical missionary activity among our Irish laity.

In the Prefectures of Calabar and Ogoja, where our priests are working, there is far from sufficient medical aid for the native Nigerian. In many cases of illness no medical attention is available, and the victim is left to suffer unnecessarily on his or her bed of pain and often to pass to a premature grave. The Government and the Protestant missionaries have some hospitals, but not nearly enough. We have one Catholic hospital, at Anua, staffed by the Medical Missionaries of Mary; the surgeon-physican in charge is Dr. Connolly, a recent graduate of U.C.D.

What relief from suffering and hope of cure are available for the Nigerian? For some, as pointed out, there is none. For the majority of the remainder Government and Protestant hospitals are the only means of relief. While those in charge of these institutions do their best for the patients, their ministrations lack something of vital importance to our Catholic converts. In sickness, and particularly as death draws near, we need the helps of our religion; this is especially true in a pagan country, where many external influences—such as pagan custom and the pleading of relatives—tempt the sick, when they have least powers of resistance, to turn away from God. Only in Catholic hospitals can the spiritual needs of the patients be provided for. Nowhere else will the sufferers be taught to bear with Christian resignation the pain that cannot be relieved.

The appeal of a noble cause has never failed to touch the hearts of our Irish youth, especially when the cause is that of the true Faith. Doctors will come forward, as priests and nuns have done. The same Faith and the same Christian charity inspire us all. Among our young doctors there are some who, at one time or another, have considered giving their lives entirely for the conversion of pagans. To these especially the call to spend some of their years helping those same people must appeal.

We have been slow in grasping the full measure of our duties towards the pagan. It is deserving of note that the miracles of Christ were wrought to relieve suffering; they were not mere manifestations of His power. He had genuine sympathy for those in trouble and helped them all. His command to preach the Gospel to every creature means more than that we should instruct—more than that we should give spiritual assistance. It binds us to imitate His example in all His dealings with men. Hence we are bound to help the pagan in his bodily as well as in his spiritual

needs. We are under a definite obligation to do so, if we are to preach and to practise the Gospel message in its entirety. While this obligation rests primarily on the authorities in the Church, its fulfilment can be effected only with the co-operation of her members, each of whom is bound to help according to his ability. No one who is in a position to help can afford to take his obligation lightly. Many a young doctor might well ask himself what God wishes him to do for the lepers of Ogoja who are in dire need of medical attention and for the millions of others who are left to suffer without help for soul or body. We know that Christ helped all such afflicted ones and that His Church is bound to help them. The Church does and must depend on her medically qualified members to fulfil this duty. They alone are competent to do so, and on them as members of the Church this obligation rests.

Is it too much to ask that Catholics enjoying so many God-given gifts of soul, mind and body should for a few short years use these gifts to assist their less fortunate brethren? Human sympathy of itself would suggest it. Membership of the Church of Christ demands it. *Caritas Christi urget nos.*

P. J. COSTELLOE

NO. 2—BY PROFESSOR HENRY MOORE, M.D., D.SC., F.R.C.P.I., F.R.C.P. (LONDON).

APART altogether from the highly important apostolic work of the Medical Missionaries in Africa, Rev. Dr. Leen's fascinating description of the social and medical activities of these devoted men and women amongst the natives, so scourged with disease and superstition, should leave no medical man unmoved; indeed, it should stimulate the vast majority of readers to actively help in a great and important undertaking, of which this country might well be proud. Obviously, however, as is often the case in great enterprises, the first fields conquered reveal increasingly difficult problems to be solved. Wide reading of Dr. Leen's article should certainly result in substantial financial help for the missionaries even in these abnormal times.

It is a wonderful and stimulating fact, in the more or less disillusioned world of today, that there are still people who, like the Sisters, without any hope of earthly reward, should devote their lives so unselfishly and so fruitfully to their fellows.

With regard to the difficulty of inducing young doctors to go to Africa for a few years, the salary and emoluments compare favourably with those nearer home; and Dr. Leen is quite correct in inferring that there could hardly be a better preparation than this for medical practice later, either here or elsewhere. In addition, it would be difficult to imagine a sphere where more useful work could be done, both from the spiritual and temporal viewpoints; it would not be easy to conjure up, in a country at

peace, a more graphic and terrible picture of human suffering and preventable loss of life than that painted so clearly by Dr. Leen.

Some young doctors might hesitate to join for three or five years in the work of the medical missionaries in Africa, because of the fear that they might lose opportunities for getting positions at home later on owing to being out of touch with developments here. This difficulty, however, should be capable of being overcome to a considerable degree if suitable arrangements were made with the University Appointments Committee. Furthermore, the years spent in Africa should count, if properly certified, with the Public Appointments Commission in relation to future appointments in this country.

As regards the medical training of the nuns in the medical school and in the Catholic hospitals in this country, I feel that this ought to be undertaken at greatly reduced rates—or, if possible, free ; the numbers involved would be necessarily small ; moreover, the work of the nuns is undertaken from the highest of spiritual motives and with no purpose whatsoever of material gain. Surely we should help this magnificent work to that extent, especially when one realizes that it is a help in evangelization and in the spread of Christian and social enlightenment, not alone amongst a pagan and ignorant people but amongst primitive tribes ready to receive, utilize, and profit by the new doctrines so revealed to them. When these nuns leave the seclusion of community religious life and resume even a partial contact with the outside world, in order to undertake the long course of secular study in University and Hospital which leads to the medical degree, they must thereby undergo a profound, and perhaps almost painful, psychological adjustment to greatly changed conditions. Only those of the laity who have some knowledge of convent life can appreciate the heavy sacrifice herein involved.

Dr. Leen referred to the realization by the natives of the difference between the treatment extended to them in the government-controlled hospitals and in those managed by the Sisters ; so much do they prefer the latter that local Chiefs pour in petitions for the founding of new hospitals by the missionaries. Truly, a great tribute—and one with a moral. The practice of medicine is built on a triple foundation : science, craft and art. The two first are taught in the medical schools and hospitals, and they can be acquired by any student who is reasonably industrious and intelligent. The art of medicine can only be acquired by intimate contact with patients ; its study begins in the hospital wards when the student goes into residence, and it continues throughout his whole professional life. The art of medicine is based on common sense, applied psychology, the intimate personal contact between doctor and patient, and the earnest desire to alleviate suffering. A thorough knowledge of the art of medicine can compensate to some degree for deficiencies of knowledge of the science and of skill in the craft, but the man who cares little for the medical

art will rarely make a good doctor. In a government-controlled hospital there is usually little inducement to cultivate the art of medicine. Unless the doctors in charge of state-controlled hospitals have true vocations, the practice of medicine becomes in a sense mechanical and impersonal; the science and craft reign together supreme in an unbalanced fashion, for the third important foundation, the art of medicine, is missing. It would be almost impossible to imagine anyone undertaking the hospital missionary work described by Dr. Leen without having the psychological make-up which would determine an exhibition of the art of medicine in high degree. Thus, it is not difficult to understand why the natives are so enthusiastic for the missionary hospital as compared with the government-controlled institution. In the missionary hospital the spiritual impulse to undertake the work would, in almost all cases, secure the full development of the medical art; and this would, in the circumstances, undoubtedly synergise the apostolic aspect of the whole undertaking.

Knowing the history of our country and of our Church from the far-off days of our own evangelization, we all surely wish success in great measure to Dr. Leen's appeal. Our country has been wonderfully fortunate in so far escaping the horrors of the present war and several of the major inconveniences which we know to result therefrom in many other neutral lands; our active material support for the missionary undertaking would be a very suitable and practical method of showing our gratitude for this great blessing.

HENRY MOORE

NO 3.—BY REV. JAMES BASTIBLE, D.D.

Dean of Residence, University College, Cork

DR. LEEN'S article is indeed most timely; and though he has confined his considerations largely to the needs of Nigeria, he has really opened up the whole question of Ireland and the medical missionary.

The amazing success of the Legion of Mary in so many fields of apostolic endeavour has drawn sharp attention to the undeveloped possibilities of the lay vocation to the apostolate. The fact emerges that there are thousands of men and women in this country who are ready to co-operate with the Church in the work of spreading Christ's kingdom, if only it be made clear to them that the official Church is desirous of their help. My own experience of the Legion of Mary, extending over fifteen years, convinces me that one may ask of and receive from the laity, not only sacrifice, but even heroic sacrifice, in the name of Christ. In the matter of medical missions, I am satisfied that the slowness of the response of Irish doctors to the call for medical missionaries proceeds from extrinsic circumstances rather than from any inherent reluctance on their part to answer the call.

My first contact with the problem of medical missions reaches back

to 1918, when I was a student in U.C.C. There was a lady medical student in U.C.C. at that time who had come from Austria to study for a degree recognised by the British Medical Council, in order that she might devote her life to medical work on the missions in India. The name of the student was Anna Dengel. That name is now famous in medical missionary annals ; for Anna Dengel was the foundress of the first society of religious devoted to medical missionary work. The heroic grandeur of the idea which inspired this Austrian girl took firm hold of my mind, and I resolved that if ever it lay in my power to assist this glorious work, I should bend all my energies to it. I was more than happy, therefore, to have been in a position some years ago to render some small assistance to the infant Society of the Medical Missionaries of Mary. Actually at the moment that Society is in dire need of a doctor who will undertake the administration of its leper colony under the direction of government officials. About two years ago Monsignor McGetterick, the Prefect-Apostolic of Ogoja (British West Africa) and a member of St. Patrick's Missionary Society, called on me to ask whether there was any possibility of inducing some of our newly-qualified doctors to undertake temporary work on his mission. The problem of the provision of doctors in the missionary hospitals had become very acute at that time owing to the internment of the missionary doctors of the Würzburg Society to which Dr. Leen refers. Every attempt to secure a medical graduate in Cork failed.

Many reasons suggest themselves as causes of the failure. Owing to the war, the capacity of England to absorb our young medical men into highly remunerative posts was almost unlimited ; many of the friends and comrades of our students were already working in England, whereas there were few, if any, contacts in Africa and no tradition of going there ; Africa seemed so far away, and England was so near ; besides, at the final stages of their medical course, the students usually have their minds more or less settled in regard to their post-graduate activity, so that to answer the call from Africa would involve a kind of psychological revolution ; then it was only too natural for parents, who had maintained their children at college for so many years and often at great sacrifice, to see in a post in England the possibility of a quick return which did not seem to be held out in Africa ; above all, many parents have a dread, open or secret, of the dangers of the African climate.

Of all these factors, two seemed to me to stand out dominantly : firstly, the lack of psychological preparation ; secondly, the sense of obligation on the part of the students to make at least a partial monetary return to their parents and a conviction that a post in Africa would not offer the possibility of such a return. This suggested the need of a Missionary Aid Society on the lines of the Würzburg experiment.

A number of my colleagues and myself are actually engaged at the moment in the formation of such a Society in U.C.C. We have secured

the approval of our venerable bishop to the scheme, and already we have two students studying for their degrees under the ægis of the Society. We hope to have, in a relatively short time, a large panel of prospective medical missionaries. The Society hopes to secure voluntary contributions for its purpose and so to be in a position to help, to a greater or lesser degree, in the education of the students who volunteer for the missions. The help to students will not, in any case, extend beyond the provision of fees. In addition it is hoped that many other students will, with their parents' consent, volunteer for the Society. In return for the Society's help the student undertakes to work upon the missions for six years after graduation. Those who come in voluntarily may engage for a period of three years.

It is well to insist, I think, that from the monetary angle the young doctor who volunteers for Africa will be at least as well off, and in most instances better off, than those who go to England or stay at home. In fact he can return from Africa with a very substantial sum laid aside. In addition he will have had a unique experience, both from the personal and the professional angle, and on his return the Society will use every endeavour to secure that his special experience will be taken into account in any position which he may seek. Thus, even from the purely utilitarian point of view, the offer is most attractive to any young doctor.

One of my colleagues, who spent several years as a bio-chemist in Africa, assures me that the experience of living there is one that he would not willingly forego. From the social angle, life there is most pleasant—all the more in the circumstances of being attached to a mission staffed by Irish priests and nuns. As regards health, I am assured that, particularly in the conditions in which the doctor lives, there is no more danger for an ordinarily healthy man in West Africa than there is at home. For recreation, there is excellent shooting and fishing.

I have deliberately left the question of the good to be done for souls to the last. A study of the literature concerning the missions in Africa makes it clear that the harvest of souls there is ripe, almost over-ripe indeed, so that anybody may gather. The tragedy is that, while Catholics are handicapped by lack of help from the home mission, Protestants and Mahometans are rushing eagerly into the field. Millions of pounds are being spent each year by Protestant missions, and not the least part of their success is due to the practical charity of well-staffed and well-equipped hospitals and medical aid, in which they abound. Protestant doctors are willingly offering themselves for the missions. Is it possible that Irish Catholics will hang back, show less zeal, if they are clearly called?

If Irish Doctors are not staffing the missions in Africa as they ought, the fault, I believe, does not lie in the doctors but in the fact that the call to them has not been sounded clearly enough. Though I have stressed the material advantages offered to the doctor who volunteers for temporary

medical mission work in Africa, I nevertheless believe that the main reason which will impel our young medicals to go on the missions will be the spiritual one; and for the spiritual motive to become operative all that is needed is a little propaganda. Without a proper spiritual outlook the doctor who volunteers for the mission will likely prove a hindrance rather than a help in Christ's work.

The medical mission is a *sine qua non* for the fruitful gathering of souls into Christ's fold in Africa. To heal bodies and then to garner souls was Christ's own method. " He, before He taught the multitudes, was accustomed to heal the sick; ' and all that were sick He healed, and many followed Him and He healed them all. He had compassion on them and healed their sick.' " (Pope Pius XI). " By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you love one another " (John 13, 35).

In all the warring nations of today, men are sacrificing their lives and their careers in the cause of their country. May we not expect in Catholic Ireland a like enthusiasm in the cause of God?

JAMES BASTIBLE

NO. 4.—BY DR. ALEX. SPAIN, M.A.O., M.R.C.O.G.

Master of the National Maternity Hospital, Dublin

" TROPICAL AFRICA," says Dr. Leen, " is as cruel to its own native denizens as it is to the white men who penetrate into it for reasons of commerce or of Imperial expansion . . . . by hygiene and prophylactic precautions the white man can now live his own life in relative security from disease. . . . . Tropical Africa is no longer the white man's grave." It is still the grave of the native. Through lack of education he is not in a position to understand or to use the hygienic measures whith protect the white man.

The Church's interest in Africa is primarily the care of souls; her activities in Education and in Medicine are anciliary to this end. Down through the centuries she has not only preached the Gospel, she has prepared the mind to receive it, she has given of her best in the fight against disease and human suffering. Irish Missionaries are going forth in ever increasing numbers to evangelise Africa. Is it any wonder that we, at home, hear from them the appeal for help in the sphere of Education and of Medicine?

In any community in which medical knowledge is low, woman, to whose lot must fall the main part in the preservation of the race, must be the greatest sufferer. We, at home, are well used to the facilities, that are provided in our own land, towards the safe delivery of our women folk and the preservation of human life in the coming generations. We are familiar with the District Midwife and the Dispensary Doctor—workers in the front line who have behind them the Hospitals

with specialized staffs to deal with more difficult cases. Those who work in this service know what terrible suffering must follow—what an appalling loss of life must take place—should it be suddenly swept away. We know, in our own sphere, that much has been done and that much remains to be done. We must, therefore, turn with sympathy to the call of Nigeria.

As Dr. Leen points out, the Church has wisely taken the matter directly into her own hands. She has trained at the National Maternity Hospital some of her nuns as Midwives. They in turn have trained with success some of the African population. She feels the need of more advanced Medical Workers, and she has now sent some of her Sisters for training in the Medical School. There is, however, a great opportunity for the young medical practitioner in Africa, even though he or she be not a Religious. It is the ambition of most young medical practitioners to acquire a sound practical knowledge of some particular branch of medicine before they settle down to their life work. Many of our Graduates seek and acquire this knowledge in Hospitals in England. In general Medicine or Surgery facilities are available in fair supply; in Midwifery and Gynæcology facilities are not so good. Surely, therefore, in this present age, when transport has made light of distance, the appeal of Africa must be heard by those anxious for such experience. Here is an opportunity made available by the pioneer work of Irish Missionaries. In one year alone, in Dr. Heery's Vicariate, the Maternity Clinics dealt with 9,520 cases—nearly three times the number of cases we deliver in one year at the National Maternity Hospital.

The terms offered are attractive. I am assured by my friend Dr. Barnes, who has just returned from Nigeria, that the opportunities for work are unrivalled. I am convinced that all that is necessary, now that Dr. Barnes has shown the way, is to bring these opportunities to the notice of our young Graduates in search of experience. Here they will find it in surroundings that must appeal to active and generous minds.

ALEX. SPAIN

NO. 5.—BY PROFESSOR MICHAEL TIERNEY, M.A.

Vice-Chairman of Seanad Eireann

COMMENT on Dr. Leen's very interesting article is not too easy for one who is for this particular purpose a layman in both senses, being neither priest nor doctor. The article, however, besides giving its readers a vivid and appealing picture of the needs of the African native and of the opportunities these needs present to enterprising young Irish medical men, also draws attention to some questions of more general interest, and it is these questions which the present contribution will try to emphasise.

In this, as in the last, war there is a strong tendency on the part of

the belligerents to arouse a feeling among their own and other peoples that the coming of peace must insure a better world. Certain official pronouncements, such as those contained in the Atlantic Charter, have brought this tendency beyond the point of being merely propaganda. It is true that cynical Americans have invented the word " globaloney " to express their scorn for such promises to improve the lot of mankind in general. It is true also that most nations, when the prospect of improvement is held out to them, are by nature inclined to think of themselves as the only world that matters, and to forget what vast inequalities exist as between the most favoured communities and their less fortunate fellow-men. In England, for example, the Catholic press has been almost unique in pointing out that, if promises of betterment on a world-wide scale are to be taken seriously, there will have to be some effort to approximate the standard of living of the Malay and the Hottentot to that of the British workman.

Dr. Leen very wisely stresses the fact that what the African native most needs is not " planning " on European industrial lines, complete with employers' liability and a Beveridge insurance scheme, but the three gifts of religion, education, and hygiene. Once endowed with these, he is better left, under the minimum of scientific and sympathetic direction, to live his own life in his own way. Nineteenth-century commercial imperialism did frightful damage in all the more backward regions of the earth by its ruthless exploitation of helpless primitive peoples. Twentieth-century " planning " may well complete the process and restore a new and worse kind of slavery over large parts of the world. Africa will be the great test of the sincerity of those who framed the Atlantic Charter and of their capacity to carry out their promises.

The task in Africa will in the long run be far harder than even in devastated Europe, where in spite of everything a few years will bring back comparative prosperity. Africa will call for a high degree of civilised intelligence as well as for short-term economic adjustments. Indeed it is probable that if Africa is not at length treated as what it really is—Europe's greatest backward area—there will be a rapid relapse in Europe itself into the conditions of frustration and competition which have already produced two great wars. There is room in Africa not alone for an immense improvement in native life but for a wonderful expansion of constructive energy, which will remain dangerous if denied a healthy outlet. In the task of raising Africa to the European level there must be full European co-operation ; all white men, and not only a self-elected Herrenvolk, must be given a share of the work. Ireland, as Dr. Leen has shown, has contributed and can yet contribute to Africa's genuine needs far more than her own size would seem to warrant. In future centuries there is quite a prospect that a great African Church will put Ireland very high among its benefactors. The suggestion that Irish

doctors should go in greater numbers to help in the glorious work of Irish priests and nuns is one that may be fruitful of infinite credit to Ireland.

We sometimes hear criticism of the great numbers of young Irish doctors who go to work abroad, and even suggestions for their drastic curtailment. Such criticism is nothing more than a phase of the nationalistic mania with which we have been too long infected. It is probably short-sighted from an economic, and certainly so from a reasonable historical, standpoint. There is no law which forbids greatness to countries unless they keep carefully to themselves. Modern Irish mission work all over the world has almost surpassed the glory of our early Christian era. To call upon our young doctors to share in the work is only to offer them an opportunity such as they have never let slip before and are unlikely to neglect now. MICHAEL TIERNEY

NO. 6.—BY REV. J. C. O'FLAHERTY, S.M.A.

Editor of *The African Missionary* (Cork)

IN his admirable essay on their relationship Francis Thompson shows rather well that, as the body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, its state has much to do in the matter of the soul.

Yet living as we are in an age vitiated by the philosophy of Naturalism, it seems necessary, even commenting on an article as admirable as Dr. Leen's, to insist that at best the body is but a means to an end and that *it is the soul that matters.*

The Brave New World, which we are being promised so persistently as to deceive even the elect, is to abolish dirt and disease, slums and suffering, so that in a grand heaven of hygiene the children of to-day may live happy ever after.

Yet surely for mankind, blessed even with the best sanitation, *ever* is of short duration, so that practical Catholic Action must continue to concern itself as to whether people are better before Heaven because they are sweetly clean and healthy, or if the old story of the Devil's sickness has not in very truth a more general application.

In hard fact, then, not every doctor would make a suitable medical missionary; his success would actually depend on just how far he shared the general missionary vocation itself.

This reduces the number of aspirants considerably; just as a scarcity of the ordinary spirit of self-sacrifice and pure philanthrophy (even at a good price) has kept the quite excellent medical services established by the various Colonial Administrations far from being overcrowded. Indeed the fewness of his numbers in this, as in all fields, proves clearly enough that Tropical Africa is, climatically and otherwise, still very far from being a white man's land. I do not think it ever will be that.

Granting then the vocation, certain qualities of mind and heart are presupposed ; for faith, morals, patience and every particle of professional skill will surely be well tried under the fierce fire of that tropical sun.

Does this sound discouraging ? Nay, only practical ; for it will, as in the case of all true missionaries, rather increase true zeal.

There is a need, a real vital need for such workers, for the work is there in great abundance ; but it is best to get the issues clear from the start.

All the missionaries of my own Society, though they have some knowledge of medicine, have keenly suffered from limitations in this respect. We have had for years the warmest co-operation from excellent medical missionaries provided from an Institute on the Continent. This service is now inoperative ; hence the need for the appeal contained in Dr. Leen's article. Catering as we do for a belt of territory parallel with the Equator and over a thousand miles in depth, whose square miles and souls are alike measured in millions, I voice the wish of all my confrères by saying :—

In God's Name, young Doctors of the Gael, take your part with us in Ireland's ancient Missionary tradition. J. C. O'FLAHERTY

NO. 7.—BY DR. JOSEPH BARNES

IT is unfortunate that Dr. Leen's eloquent appeal should be so sorely handicapped by prevailing conditions, for it is useless to close the eyes not only to the danger of a voyage to Nigeria nowadays but also to the difficulty of procuring a passage. These are snags which will occur to the mind of anyone sincerely thinking of going out, or in any case they are sure to impress themselves on him. Many times has it happened now that, during a long and uncertain period of waiting, something else has turned up or the young applicant has got married—and then 'tis good-bye Nigeria. And though, as Dr. Leen says, there are houses commodious and suitably furnished and large enough to accommodate a wife and family, still no white people rear families in Onitsh Owerri and the Government will not allow anyone to bring out their wives during the war. Still, Dr. Gerald Connolly has proved that the grade can be made if one is sufficiently determined. He is now practising in Anua, some seventy miles from Emekuku, after having waited six months for his passage. He, I am sure, will be glad to give anyone going out a helping hand.

Everybody who has ever thought of joining the medical mission has made the same mistake of thinking himself—and a few times herself—inadequately prepared to tackle the job even after the usual six months internship. Well, to be sure he is ; but so will he always be, for out there he is the last court of appeal for every case and there is no question

of " sending him (the patient) up to Dublin." From necessity he must be a general specialist and a dentist to boot. If once he starts taking house-surgeon posts one after the other, he may be sure the Nigerian idea will fade. What I would suggest to him is that he apply while he is still resident in his first hospital, and then by the time his term of office is completed he should have a good chance of a passage. It is then, after two or three years of wide experience, that he can take his secondary degrees from a hospital and finally settle down to his choice in life. There is nothing like a plan to inspire some people to work confidently and with a purpose. Well there is one.

It is literally true that a young doctor may specialise in any branch in Emekuku. In medicine practically all the diseases known in these islands are found plus a great variety of dietetic and tropical diseases. I except, of course, the more civilised diseases such as toxic goitres and peptic ulcers. Incidentally, if yaws were a venereal disease, there would be little hope for the salvation of the Nigerian. Laboratory and other extra-clinical methods of investigation are, however, not developed ; but that is up to the individual.

The doctor is supplied with a plethora of surgical instruments, so that his operations are limited only by his judgment and courage. Congenital abnormalities are no different from those at home though less frequently seen, as deformed infants, like twins, are quietly burked. Where the Caucasian race use bombs the Negro uses a matchet, and where we fall under motor cars he falls off his palm-wine tree ; so one way or another he succeeds in injuring himself or his fellow, and so traumatic surgery has its scope. There are as many nooks and crannies where pus can pocket in a black as in a white body—in fact I never noticed the difference after the initial incision. Neoplasms, benign and malignant, also occur, sarcoma more than cancer. The common abdominal operations will be gynæcological, though the most common of all is an inguinal herniorrhaphy. Obstetrics is much the same as at home, except for the more rotund shape of the pelvis.

In general, then, I agree with Dr. Leen that disease is more severe and general in the tropics than in temperate zones, though statistics must be taken with an even larger grain of salt than at home, for it is generally recognised that population statistics are but crudely approximate, while outside the townships medical statistics are non-existent.

There certainly is an acute need for doctors on the mission at the moment, and for the next four or five years, till the good Sisters are qualified ; and even then it would be a good thing if there were still a sprinkling of young Irishmen, particularly in the surgical centres—good not only for their patients but good for themselves.

JOSEPH BARNES

MILTON AND SOME CRITICS

BY PROFESSOR J. J. HOGAN, M.A., B.LITT.

THE years 1642 and 1643 were crucial for England and for John Milton. War began between King and Parliament. Losing at Edgehill, the latter were almost besieged in London, nor did their hopes rise till the autumn of 1643. As for the poet, it seems that in these years he laid some important foundations for his greatest work; while at the same time certain things happened to him which were to postpone that work and give it much of its peculiar shape. It is not mere centenary hunting to begin this paper with a glance at Milton as he was just three hundred years ago.

Already in 1641 Milton's first pamphlet, *Reformation in England*, showed that revolutionary and reforming enthusiasm had greatly enlarged any notion that Milton the Spenserian recluse of *Il Penseroso* and *Comus* might have had of a great poem. Now already he thinks of his poem-to-be as popular, national, religious. It must wait only until the imminent establishment of God's rule in England: "Then, amid the hymns and hallelujahs of saints, some one may perhaps be heard offering at high strains in new and lofty measures, to sing and celebrate thy divine mercies and marvellous judgments in this land throughout all ages."

Two works of 1642 must be glanced at. The pamphlet *Reason of Church Government* contains a famous passage on discipline and hierarchy, worth quoting for its excellence and because it expresses a side of Milton too often ignored. Would one expect this from the revolutionary and future regicide, from the sour Puritan, the foe to sociability, the sympathiser with his own Satan that Milton has been taken for?

> Yea, the angels themselves, in whom no disorder is feared, as the apostle that saw them in his rapture describes, are distinguished and quaternioned into their celestial princedoms and satrapies, according as God himself has writ in his imperial decrees through the great provinces of heaven. The state also of the blessed in paradise, though never so perfect, is not therefore left without discipline, whose golden surveying reed marks out and measures every quarter and circuit of the New Jerusalem. Yet it is not to be conceived, that those eternal effluences of sanctity and love in the glorified saints should by this means be confined and cloyed with repetition of that which is prescribed, but that our happiness may orb itself into a thousand vagancies of glory and delight, and with a kind of eccentrical equation be, as it were, an invariable planet of joy and felicity.

Milton had written two pamphlets, but he had not yet deeply involved himself in controversy, nor postponed poetry. His chief aspiration was indeed to elevate England by the composition of a lofty heroic poem. At

first it was to be an Arthuriad, but when the Cavaliers claimed the British legend and that shadowy and romantic hero for their own, Milton perforce changed to the more historical and constitutional Alfred. Another sort of poem was held by the age to be scarcely less honourable and exemplary than the epic—tragedy. Milton drafted many schemes of tragedies, including a *Fall of Man*. The subject seems to have satisfied him better than his epic subjects (which indeed would have suited the earlier Milton better than the Milton of 1642), for upon the epic themes he made no beginning, but upon the tragic a very important one. At this time, according to his nephew Phillips, he wrote the opening speech of a tragedy of the Fall; we know it, in what was to be its ultimate context, as Satan's tremendous address to the Sun in the fourth book of *Paradise Lost*. Satan confesses the unreason of his attack on hierarchical order and the infinite pain he has brought on himself :—

> He deserved no such return
> From me, whom he created what I was
> In that bright eminence, and with his good
> Upbraided none; nor was his service hard.
> What could be less than to afford him praise,
> The easiest recompense, and pay him thanks,
> How due! Yet all his good proved ill in me,
> And wrought but malice; lifted up so high,
> I sdained subjection, and thought one step higher
> Would set me highest . . . .
> Whom hast thou then, or what, to accuse,
> But Heaven's free love dealt equally to all?
> Be then his love accursed, sincere, love or hate,
> To me alike it deals eternal woe.
> Nay, curs'd be thou; since against his thy will
> Chose freely what it now so justly rues.
> Me miserable! which way shall I fly
> Infinite wrath and infinite despair?
> Which way I fly is Hell; myself am Hell,
> And, in the lowest deep, a lower deep
> Still threat'ning to devour me opens wide,
> To which the Hell I suffer seems a Heaven.

It will be observed that the thought is closely connected with that of the contemporary passage on discipline quoted above, of which this presents the negative side. About these passages, it might be said, *Paradise Lost* was to crystallize. How erroneous, then, to look for the genesis of the poem much later and merely in Milton's disappointments.

The first disappointment indeed was close at hand. In May or June 1643, Milton, aged 34 went to the country and brought home a Cavalier

bride. She left him in July or August ; and on August 1 the first Divorce pamphlet, written while she was still in his house, was published. Milton had been in worldy matters formal and aloof. Never yet had anything shaken his lofty self-esteem, but now it rocked to its foundations. The pamphlet shows dismay, anger, shame, despair, countered however by courage and a readiness for action. It has been observed that Milton in his pleadings still respected the discipline he had praised ; he would not break the law, but it should be changed ; for he thought of happiness as something not private but rooted like justice in the wise and equal ordinances of the state. Milton's marriage was a turning-point. The dignified spectator felt for the first time the sharpness of life. The orator who thought that all right-minded men must agree with him found himself in sharp disagreement with his own chosen party. Milton happened to have in him a strain of political intransigence, perhaps differentiating him from all other great poets. In other times, or if his private circumstances had been different, it might have lain quiescent ; but now the flowery crust of the volcano was broken. Milton had taken in hands an instrument that would more swiftly than poetry establish the kingdom of God on earth—or at any rate smite its enemies—and he would not soon lay it down. In 1643 it was surely determined that Milton should not be as other poets, writing a close series and sequence of works from juvenilia to final mellow visions ; that he should write no more poems until he had fought himself out in the arena of controversy ; and that these should be hard poems, showing the scars of the old combatant.

The Milton criticism of to-day is interesting for several reasons. It is voluminous and energetic, where it had been scarce and languid. Little had been said for a long time about the poet who was second to Shakespeare in the English hierarchy and claimed still higher rank as one of the supreme epic four. His claims were ceremoniously and listlessly allowed. But today men are studying Milton hard, getting angry about him, perhaps making fools of themselves about him. English studies, now for a generation established among the principal schools in the Universities, have been proving their worth, showing their strength and weakness, upon Milton. English patriotism, seeking strength from its traditions, shows signs of returning to him ; and so, notwithstanding the Puritan differentia, does literary Anglo-Catholicism.

Let us glance rapidly over the vicissitudes of Milton's fame. That he had attained his ambition in *Paradise Lost* and " justified the ways of God to men " in a mighty Christian epic was the conviction of the first century and a half of readers and critics, many of them acute and well grounded in theology. The poem was popular, and it was efficacious and vital ; nearly all the poetry of that age that was not of Dryden's planting grew from the acorns of Milton's oak. Then suddenly revolutionary criticism, inspired by revolutionary politics and religion, declared

through Blake and Shelley that Milton's God was a tyrant, that his Satan was the true hero, and that Milton secretly sympathised with him. Mistaken or not, this gave *Paradise Lost* a new seminal force for a time. Satan became a romantic Prometheus, or he entered into the composition of the darkly glorious Byronic hero. As the nineteenth century grew, though simple people might read Milton in the old simple way, the critics were content to follow Blake and Shelley's paradox; but they had lost the original sense of shock, and it was chiefly the negative side of the romantic criticism they developed. The scheme and declared sense of the poem were only a façade, an imposing but empty shell. Milton asserted orthodoxy, but he was in a Satan-like revolt against the Restoration and the disposition of things that permitted it, and this revolt strangled the assertion as poetry. Only powerfully poetical were the personal passages and the Satan passages, and not all of these latter, for orthodoxy marred some of them. Arnold said that Milton's theology was too unsatisfactory to enable *Paradise Lost* to stand as a whole and advised reading in fragments. He once vaguely praised the *architectonics* of Milton, but he cannot have referred to anything but externals, for it is these he discusses and illustrates. For Arnold Milton was really the poet of the Grand Style, and for the Victorians in general he was the "organ-voice"—*vox et præterea nihil*. In 1900 Walter Raleigh wrote an excellent book on Milton, but the best of it is the style analysis; Raleigh accepted the Satanic paradox and did not in general take Milton's matter very seriously; when it is the paradisal life of Adam and Eve, we find that all he can do is to poke indulgent and tasteful fun at it.

Thus precarious was the critical standing of the second English writer. It is easy to see what might happen next. Downright irreverence might scoff where Milton had smiled—at Milton's matter; and a poet who stood by the grand style alone might fall if the grand style itself came into contempt. Both things happened. In 1920 Mr. Eliot muttered dangerously: "Milton's celestial and infernal regions are large but insufficiently furnished apartments, filled by heavy conversation." By 1936 Mr. Leavis could think that Milton had been "liquidated" and that nothing remained but to explain the obvious to the stupid. "Milton's dislodgment, in the past decade, after his two centuries of predominance, was effected with remarkably little fuss. The irresistible argument was, of course, Mr. Eliot's creative achievement; it gave his few critical asides—potent, it is true, by context—their finality and made it unnecessary to elaborate a case, Mr. Middleton Murry also, it should be remembered, came out against Milton at much the same time."

The attack on Milton's matter was not greatly pressed, as it seemed to offer no resistance. The main effort went against what did seem to have some strength in it, his style. Besides Eliot and Leavis, Read, Dobrée, Murry and others have taken part. The campaign has been

conducted with energy and acumen. Two strong forces entered into it, the practice of the modern poets and a critical doctrine based partly but not wholly on that practice. The modern poets eschew decorum and aim at conversational realism. Contemporary poets will always find critical allies to prove that theirs are the best if not the only methods. In this case it is possible that the tendencies of University English schools strengthened the condemnation of all tastes but that of the moment. English learning, pursued to the exclusion of the classics and of other literatures, tends to exalt what is felt to be most native, to engender a mystical sense of blood and idiom. Such a sense has been feeling and tasting Shakespeare and Keats in a way quite different from that of the older and more philosophical criticism. It found its favourite diet in Donne and could not stomach Milton.

We dislike Milton's verse, Mr. Leavis says. To an ear trained on Shakespeare it is intolerable. How can we bear the routine gesture, the heavy fall, the forseen thud that comes so inevitably, the booming swell, the inescapable monotony of the ritual? We may sometimes enjoy the roll, adds Mr. Eliot, but we must realize that this is not serious poetry occupied about its business, but a solemn game. As for the diction, continues Leavis, it is stiffly hieratic, laboured, pedantic. It is only tolerable to " the classically educated " ; and has it not " evoked from Mr. Eliot the damaging word *magniloquence*? " The words never withdraw themselves as words from the focus of our attention and let us be directly aware of a tissue of feelings and perceptions. They are words all the time, a splendid dress applied to abstract and prosaic thought ; never the fusion of word and thought in sharp concrete realization. And it is all remote from any English that was ever spoken. Milton spurned his native language in his latinizing, and his native language took her revenge by rendering him sometimes obscure and always obtuse and insensitive.

Let us look at the other side. Not all English scholars are in one camp, and Cambridge itself is divided over its poet. But the first champion spoke in the Sorbonne. It is notable and ironical that when the onslaught on Milton was just beginning, Professor Denis Saurat found it worth while to devote himself to what others thought least serious and defensible—Milton's matter. In 1920 he published *La Pensée de Milton* (translated in 1925 as *Milton, Man and Thinker*), opening a new epoch in Milton studies. Mr. Lewis has said that it " made most earlier Milton criticism look childish or dilettante." Saurat showed that there was more in Milton's mind than a few conventional Puritan beliefs. Milton's thought was inherently strong and wide-ranging. It was broadened by the reading of many and strange books ; it was emboldened to daring heresies by the shock of his marriage and by his other disappointments. Saurat makes Milton exciting as a thinker, and his re-interpretation of the life enables him to supply a new reading of *Paradise Lost*. But this fine

pioneer work has already dated in large parts. It now appears that Saurat exaggerates, not indeed the strength of Milton's thought, but its speculative originality[2]; and that he takes too simple a formula of Milton's character and experience to the interpretation of the poem.

It took some time for Saurat's ideas to root in other minds. But in 1930 Dr. Tillyard carried on the line of thought in his monograph on Milton. Compared with Raleigh's book, his is larger and looser, written with less ease and charm, bristling with doubts and open questions. But if it does not finally answer all the questions, it answers some of them and they are mostly real questions. The biographical data and secondary works were re-examined, and a strong presentation was made of Milton's "colossal personality." The application of biography to the interpretation of the poems is tentative. Tillyard does not find in *Paradise Lost* a work possessing full organic unity, and his study acknowledges the old separation of intended and actual or, as he puts it, conscious and unconscious meaning. Correcting Saurat in many matters, Tillyard tends like him to ascribe to Milton an almost wholly personal philosophy and religion. Not being philosophically and theologically expert, he examines these hypothetical originalities rather clumsily; if he were so expert he might not need to examine some of them at all.

In 1938 Dr. Tillyard published *The Miltonic Setting*, in which, among other good things, he gives an excellent answer to the attacks on Milton's style. Milton, he points out, can be concrete and particular when he wants to, as in

> Ask for this great Deliverer now, and find him
> Eyeless in Gaza at the mill with slaves.

He can write the English vernacular with the coarsest vigour, as he does in the verses on Hobson and in his prose. But his large visions go beyond everyday perception, and he cannot be as immediately sensuous as the realist poets of to-day. And he was bound to an epic decorum by the nature of his subject and the practice of his age. His epic style unbends however at intervals, usually in parentheses and similes, to reassure us that we have not lost contact with reality and the common world. And its general texture is not at all as stiff and remote as has been supposed. After all that has been said of it, it is simply not true that Milton latinized very much. Many of his supposed Latinisms are good English idiom; if Shakespeare had written *Live to ourselves*, nobody would have thought it necessary to assume an echo of Horace's *ut mihi vivam*; and as for absolute participial clauses, are not Shakespeare and common English full of them? Milton's most important stylistic feature is not Latin at all. One of his aims, in the new task of writing a long poem in blank verse, was to be compact and weighty; another was to be *sustained*. The former demands short clauses, the latter continuity; and Milton's

solution was " a vague or apparently disordered grammar," packing the statements close but linking them loosely with *and* or *or*—or by vague appositions and participial constructions :—

> So passed they naked on, nor shunned the sight
> Of God or angel, for they thought no ill ;
> So hand in hand they passed, the loveliest pair
> That ever since in love's embraces met,
> Adam the goodliest man of men since born
> His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve.

Dr. Tillyard does not connect this Miltonic invention with Shakespeare's final style, which might be done, nor with the general tendency of baroque art.

Meanwhile Mr. Charles Williams had been writing on Milton, declaring that his secret was easy, an open door which people would batter upon when they had only to turn the handle. Milton was after all what the eighteenth century took him to be, and all criticism since Blake had been a laborious misunderstanding. Mr. Williams may be read in *Reason and Beauty in the Poetic Mind* (1933) and in his Preface to the World's Classics edition of Milton's Poems (1940). Of this preface Mr. C. S. Lewis says, with an assurance equal to Dr. Leavis's on the other side, " The ease with which the thing was done would have seemed inconsistent with the weight that had to be lifted." Mr. Lewis borrows much from Mr. Williams, and having noted this we may turn to his *Preface to Paradise Lost*, which is now being discussed on every side (as widely as such matters are discussed) ; it is a book of weight.

Mr. Lewis begins his defence of *Paradise Lost* with a biography of heroic poetry, which he justly says is as relevant as a biography of Milton, because it required the combination of the epic tradition with the Miltonic personality to produce the poem ; and studies of the Miltonic personality had brought Saurat and others only half-way to a right appreciation of it. Mr. Lewis can expound with equal knowledge and zest Homer and Virgil, Beowulf and Roland and Piers Plowman. Primary epic, he tells us, was ceremonious and attended with ritual. Virgil, the father of all secondary epic, saw the need for something to compensate for the loss of ceremony entailed by private reading, and found it in an elaborate grandeur of style. Milton was bound by tradition and by reason to follow. When therefore Milton is charged with a calculated grandiosity, the charge is to be admitted but not the crime. Milton never wanted to sound spontaneous or colloquial, but rather to give the sense that something above the ordinary was in hands. Casualness would not have been sincerity or spontaneity but impertinence. He is like a man performing a rite, who should neither walk as he would in the street nor pretend he is doing so. He is not speaking as a private person or giving us his individual

notions on the Fall. " He is a Hierophant or Choregus, and we are to take part, under his leadership, in a great mimetic dance of all Christendom."

In dealing with Milton's thought Mr. Lewis has the advantage over most modern critics that he has read such authors as St. Augustine. Lacking that, Mr. Tillyard and others have presumed that Milton invented his whole account of the Fall to air original views of his own and to be revenged on the female sex. In truth, he follows the *City of God*. His theology is Christian, with few things that are even specifically Protestant or Puritan. The heresies listed by Saurat melt away on examination, until only one of importance remains, and that one is kept out of *Paradise Lost*.

Unlike any of the critics we have yet considered, Mr. Lewis can tell us what *Paradise Lost* is essentially concerned with and wherein we are to look for its unity and power. It is something, he says, more *final* than the *Iliad* or the *Aeneid* :—

> It records a real, irreversible, unrepeatable process in the history of the universe ; and even for those who do not believe this, it embodies (in what *for them* is mythical form) the great change in every individual soul from happy dependence to miserable self-assertion and thence either, as in Satan, to final isolation or, as in Adam, to reconcilement and a different happiness. The truth and passion of the presentation are unassailable. They were never, in essence, assailed until rebellion and pride came, in the romantic age, to be admired for their own sake. On this side the adverse criticism of Milton is not so much a literary phenomenon as the shadow cast upon literature by revolutionary politics and antinomian ethics, and the worship of Man by Man.

Hierarchy or subordination, Mr. Lewis goes on, is the great positive principle of the poem. It is superficial to think of Milton as a foe to all order because he rebelled against the Stuarts ; to him they were tyrants not kings, and a tyrant disrupts earthly order in the very manner of Satan, the would-be usurper and the tyrant of the spiritual world. When he spoke of Order, Milton was not a man sternly inculcating a rule, but a man enamoured of a perfection. The idea of hierarchy is that of a delighted liberty ; it is the indwelling life of *Paradise Lost* and " foams or burgeons out of it at every moment."

What of Satan, who has so long been taken for the hero ? Those who so take him are those who know little of the devil before they meet him in the poem. How could the poet " foresee that his work would one day meet the disarming simplicity of critics who take for gospel things said by the father of falsehood in public speeches to his troops ? " It is hard to understand why even the agnostic reader should wholly admire him, for the man with a " sense of injured merit " is not the best company. Indeed, " to admire Satan is to give one's vote not only for a world of misery, but also for a world of lies and propaganda, of wishful thinking, of incessant autobiography." Satan escapes being a comic figure only because Milton has chosen to treat the Satanic predicament epically and

has subordinated the absurdity of Satan to the misery he suffers and inflicts. Satan in his unreason wants hierarchy—from himself down; "throughout the poem he is engaged in sawing off the branch he is sitting on." "What we see in Satan is the horrible co-existence of a subtle and incessant intellectual activity with an incapacity to understand anything."

Mr. Lewis completes his case by examining the grounds of the prevailing misunderstandings. He distinguishes three groups of attackers. The first, the lowest and most contemptible, are moved by fear and envy to detest *Paradise Lost*. It is an eminently *civil* poem—Mr. Lewis will not say civilized, because vulgar power and vulgar luxury have debauched that word beyond redemption. "The decline in Milton's fame marks a stage in the rebellion of civilization against civility." The second, a more respectable group, dislike *Paradise Lost* because, being in the grip of a peculiar kind of realism, they think that only the raw is real and that to organize elementary passions into sentiments is to tell lies about them. The third group is interesting; it seems to be a special Limbo designed to save Mr. Eliot from a worse location, like the one Dante made for Virgil and his peers. Mr. Eliot, it seems, rebukes civility from the higher ground of sanctity, while others rebel against it from nether barbarism. Milton is too worldly for his asceticism. But let Eliot beware of destroying the sound things that belong to the earthly middle state. "Mr. Eliot may succeed in persuading the reading youth of England to have done with robes of purple and pavements of marble. But he will not therefore find them walking in sackcloth on floors of mud—he will only find them in smart, ugly suits walking on rubberoid."

Nothing is more delightful to the reader of criticism than to see some great work, disjointed and frittered away by mistaken comment, once more vindicated as *simplex et unum*. And when the argument is lively and well phrased, how are we to resist? I feel that Mr. Lewis makes Milton just a little too Catholic and Dantesque, and that the theological, philosophical and personal angularities of which others may have made too much must be worked into the portrait before it is final. Mr. Lewis rather glosses over the weakness of the scenes in Heaven, where God the Father argues like a school divine, and over some other weak spots. But on the whole I think his account is not only pleasing but true, and that it is an important contribution not only to Milton criticism but to the whole of English studies.

Professor Wilson Knight wrote on Milton a few years ago in his *Burning Oracle*. He drew attention to Milton's love of the mechanical, the architectural, the monumental, which seemed to him to constitute a rejection of the specifically vital. Milton was full, he said, of distrusts and repressions. What he approved of was grand but lifeless, what he disapproved of drew forth his true poetry in his own despite. "In Hell

Milton buries the whole heroic past of the race, its intellectual achievement, its ambition and its greed, courage and futility; while the requiem is his noblest poetry." Another edition of the Satanic view.

Mr. Knight has considerably altered his opinion, and to-day he sees great sense and great poetry in *Paradise Lost* as a whole.[3] Milton as depicted in *Chariot of Wrath* is one of England's two prophets. Shakespeare and he stand at the heart of the nation, offering it the guidance of an oracular wisdom. The dramatist is the master of England at peace; the epic poet should be her master in war. Milton is alone in English literature with his dreadful emphasis on war and righteous anger; and therefore, as in Wordsworth's day, England has need of him.

Mr. Knight connects Milton's vision with England's cause, and discovers that each interprets and enriches the other. The will-to-power, normally selfish and destructive, is a mighty fact. Pacifism is no answer to it. Goodness refusing to use power is blasphemous against God's purpose of a far-off humanity in which goodness and power will co-exist; and godlessness ever betrays itself by a dislike of power, of the authoritative in government and the authentic in literature. When the medieval church lost its hold Britain took on the trust of the Old and New Testaments, as well as the Roman ideal of lawful empire. However baffled by fears, hesitation and blindness, she has long been embarked on the mighty adventure of combining power with goodness, authority with freedom. Hence the continual tension between the British conscience and Machiavellian Europe. The mob of autonomous self-seeking states, into which the continent fell when the Papacy lost its secular authority, must time and again be brought back to order, and in that necessity Britain must always act. She is the Messiah nation, and her battle is as the Chariot of Wrath wherein Milton's Messiah thunders upon the rebellious. Already under Elizabeth this mission fell upon Britain, but found her not fully ready. There was necessary a re-interpretation of her national order, a toughening of its roots and cleansing of its soil, and in this process the prime agents were Cromwell and Milton. Milton's greater poems define and exalt his country as the chosen implement of God in the modern world.

Are these but wild and whirling words? Mr. Knight is at any rate so convinced of his case that he does not try to play safe, but braves ridicule in the precisest contemporary applications. Milton, he says, had in him elements of the Nazi German, though other elements dominated them; Cromwell was "a Hitler-type." Old episcopacy was very like new totalitarianism. Dalila is a fifth-columnist, and Samson's insistence on a court of moral appeal above nationalism is deeply English. Milton's description of war is not only the most powerful in the language, but, penetrated as it is by his mechanistic imagination, it is strikingly modern, the Chariot of Messiah being like both "a super-tank and a super-bomber."

Satan with his " sense of injured merit," his " considerate pride waiting revenge," is a type of Germany after the last war. The infernal review at which he is " worshipped as a God " is like Nuremberg, and the roar of loyalty is a Sieg-Heil. Satan's lieutenants have modern counterparts. All this reaches a somewhat grotesque climax in a note, written as a post-script, in which Mr. Knight indicates that after all there are three Messiah nations, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. being added for good reasons to Britain; and he hints that if we looked into Milton's *History of Muscovy* we might discover it to contain one of his minor prophecies. But there are qualifications and humbler reflections also. We must not, Mr. Knight says, limit *Paradise Lost* to one human war. The relation of Britain to the militant Messiah should suggest an opportunity rather than a fact. As for British victory, it may come without such high deserving; and loss, if the Messianic sense were awakened, might be better than victory without it.

That great literature should be related to great life and to the processes of history is undoubtedly sound, and for too long *Paradise Lost* has been treated as if it were merely a thing for the very learned reader to taste in the quiet of his study. With some wildness and exaggeration, Mr. Knight writes valuable criticism and revives much of the real Milton. War enabled him to illustrate Milton the great war-poet. War at a disadvantage enabled him to feel with Milton's poetry of hope against hope in war :—

> O how comely it is and how reviving
> To the spirits of just men long opprest,
> When God into the hands of their deliverer
> Puts invincible might,
> To quell the mighty of the earth, th'oppressor,
> The brute and boist'rous force of violent men . . .
> He all their ammunition
> And feats of war defeats
> With plain heroic magnitude of mind
> And celestial vigour armed.

J. J. HOGAN

NOTES

[1] Books reviewed in this article are : *A Preface to Paradise Lost*, by C. S. Lewis (Oxford, 1942, 7s. 6d.) ; *Chariot of Wrath*, by G. Wilson Knight (Faber, 1942, 10s. 6d.) ; *The Miltonic Setting*, by E. M. W. Tillyard (Cambridge, 1938, 10s. 6d.). See also *Revaluation*, by F. R. Leavis (1936).

[2] Saurat makes much of supposed heresies that have since been shown to be none at all. One of them is the proposition *God is Light*, of which Saurat makes a great deal, tracking it to its source in Fludd's *De Macrocosmi Historia;* he need have looked no further than the first Epistle of St. John.

[3] Mr. Knight now sees the heart of the poem not in the first two books, but in the account of the Messiah's Chariot, VI 824-866, from which his book takes its title ; Mr. Knight calls this passage, too long for quotation here, " the most spectacular in English Literature."

THE BEVERIDGE REPORT AND EIRE

BY REV. PROFESSOR CORNELIUS LUCEY, M.A., D.D.

THE Beveridge Report on Social Insurance and Allied Services was published in December of last year. Never has a document of its kind had such an enthusiastic reception from the press and the public generally. It was radical enough for the Socialists; it was moderate enough for the Conservatives; it was complimentary enough in its references to the Soviet security system for the Communists; it promised the working man what he had dreamt of but hardly dared to hope for; and it estimated an initial cost not so astronomical as to antagonise the Chancellor of the Exchequer or unduly alarm the industrialists. Open opposition to the recommendations as a whole there has been virtually none from any influential quarter, though some criticism of them on principle there has been, especially from Catholic sociologists, on the ground that they provide security only at the expense of personal independence and initiative. Individual recommendations, however, have come under fire—for instance, the industrial insurance interests and the Approved Societies have launched strong attacks against the particular recommendations affecting themselves.

On February 16 Sir John Anderson, Lord President of the Council, speaking at the opening stage of the three-day debate on the Report, told the House of Commons officially that the Government accepted the Report in principle and was making the necessary preparations to implement it, as far as the financial condition of the country after the war would permit. At the same time, he made it clear that the Government had no intention of adopting all the proposals in detail, and indicated some of the more important modifications which they had in mind. Seemingly the Government mean to feel their way forward towards full social security after the war, instead of thrusting forward in one comprehensive sweep straightway.

The Report has more than mere academic interest for all countries with a large working-class population. The worker depends altogether on wages for a livelihood. When, therefore, he cannot get work, or when through sickness, accident, or age, he cannot take work, he and those dependent on him are helpless. What is more, even when he has work, his wages very often are no more than barely sufficient to meet the ordinary expenses of living, with the result that extra expenses—for instance, the expenses incidental to birth, marriage, burial, rearing a big family—reduce him to comparative destitution. How is he to be helped? That is the problem the Beveridge Report tackles. True, it is a British report to

meet British conditions. But as we have a similar problem in this country, it behoves us to study the proposals and see whether we too could not adopt them.

There is a further reason, however, why we in this country cannot afford to ignore the Report. If the social security system it proposes is adopted in Great Britain and Northern Ireland—and the Government of Northern Ireland is formally pledged to do as Britain does—and if it proves successful there, then we must perforce adopt it too or provide something just as good, if not better; else we are perpetuating the Border on the one hand and encouraging emigration on the other. What Six County worker, for instance, would vote for the abolition of the Border when it meant voting as well for the abolition of his social security benefits? What worker or small-holder of our own would settle down willingly to insecurity here when he could reckon on comparative plenty, whether at work or out of work, in Britain? There is no use in closing our eyes to the facts. We cannot afford, either from the national or the social point of view, to have a social security system that compares unfavourably with that of our nearest neighbours.

The Essentials of the Beveridge Plan

What exactly does the Beveridge Report propose? The Beveridge Report proposes (*a*) a comprehensive plan for social security; (*b*) by way of Social Insurance, National Assistance, and Voluntary Insurance; (*c*) administered by the State.

A. By social security is meant the security that society furnishes, through regular organisation, against the risk of poverty to which its members are exposed, as distinct from—or perhaps we should say as complementary to—the security that each of these members can provide for himself by his own efforts. Security of this kind comprises both a state of mind and a relief system: the confidence that benefits will be available in case of need and a source to supply the benefits. Now the kind of *social* security which the Beveridge Report plans to establish is a State system of security; and the kind of social *security* it plans to provide is, on the subjective side, the confidence which a claim on the State for benefits begets, and on the objective side a Social Insurance Fund together with the public purse to supply the necessary benefits.

The Beveridge Report plans not for limited social security but for *comprehensive* social security. The social security proposed is comprehensive in three notable ways. In the first place, it covers everybody in the land, irrespective of age, sex, income, or social standing; in the second place, it covers everybody against all the major causes of poverty; and in the third place, it covers everybody against poverty to an adequate extent, guaranteeing benefits ample enough to see a man through all the

emergencies of life in reasonable comfort. Indeed, it is because of its comprehensiveness in these three directions that the Beveridge system would constitute a major advance on the existing measures of social security everywhere. In no civilised country today, of course, are the poor left altogether to their own resources or the care of private charity. But in no country are all citizens, rich and poor alike, secured against all the major risks of poverty to the full extent of their needs as the Beveridge Plan proposes to do.

The proposal is to secure citizens against all unmerited poverty. Intemperance, idleness, gambling, thriftlessness, etc., all help, and help very considerably, to swell the ranks of the needy. However to secure people against intemperance and the like would be to secure them against the consequences of their own failings and destroy in them all sense of personal responsibility. Hence the Report, wisely presupposing the traditional distinction between the " deserving " and the " undeserving," proposes to furnish security only against causes that result in poverty through no fault on the part of the victim himself. Actually it does not propose to furnish security against all even of these causes equally—for instance, fire and theft can cause a man substantial loss through no fault of his own, yet the Plan envisages for these, not compulsory security, but voluntary security through voluntary insurance. The major causes of poverty against which security is given in the shape of special benefits are Unemployment, Disability, Loss of Livelihood, Retirement or Old Age, Marriage Needs, Widowhood, Burial, Childhood, and Physical Disease or Incapacity.

At the moment, in these countries, benefits and assistance are given only to the needy and only to the extent necessary to enable the needy to keep body and soul together. The Beveridge proposal is to make benefits available for all, whether they need them or have resources of their own to call upon, and to make these benefits fully commensurate with the needs they are meant to relieve. This latter point cannot be emphasised too much. It is of the very essence of the Plan that the various benefits should be sufficient to meet fully the particular demands for which they are provided—for instance, that the burial benefit should be the sum required to pay for a plain but decent funeral, that the unemployment benefit should be the sum required to support a man in a plain but decent way, etc. Hence the monetary amounts mentioned in the Report are purely provisional, being based on a cost of living figure 25 per cent. above that of 1938 ; the benefits, in terms of money, are to vary upward or downward according as the costs of meeting the various needs vary upward or downward from that basic figure. The logic of benefit rates—and with them of course contribution rates—varying as the cost of living, dying, etc., varies is obvious in a scheme which has the avowed purpose to abolish want as such. The logic of having a uniform rate for

unemployment, sickness, old age, etc., becomes equally obvious, once we consider that the cost of the necessaries of life is the same for the unemployed, the sick and the aged. Since the cost of living, particularly in the important item of rent, tends to be higher in urban than in rural areas, the logic of uniform benefit rates for urban and rural beneficiaries may seem faulty—but equal rates for all should go some distance towards stemming the flight from the land, for we know from experience in this country that people flock to the cities not only because wages are higher, but also because unemployment assistance and benefit rates are higher.

B. The Beveridge Plan for Social Security, in its own words, " combines three distinct methods: social insurance for basic needs; national assistance for special cases; voluntary insurance for addition to the basic provision." Social insurance it describes as " the providing of cash payments conditional upon compulsory contributions previously made by or on behalf of the insured persons, irrespective of the resources of the individual at the time of the claim." National assistance means " the giving of cash benefits upon proved need at the time of the claim, irrespective of previous contributions, but adjusted by consideration of individual circumstances and paid from the national exchequer." In a word, social insurance and national assistance differ in that the former provides benefits, without a Means Test, out of a fund maintained on a contributory basis, whereas the latter provides benefits, subject to a Means Test, out of general taxation. Voluntary insurance needs no explanation.

Social insurance, national assistance, and voluntary insurance are not novel and untried ways and means of providing social security. Social insurance has been in existence in these countries since the first National Health Insurance Act of 1911; national assistance (in the full sense) came with the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908; while voluntary insurance is centuries old. What is unique about the Beveridge Plan is the precise way in which it proposes to combine and organise these services.

Actually the Plan makes social insurance very much the main social service, limiting national assistance almost altogether to cases in which the qualifying contributions for social insurance benefits have, for one reason or another, not been paid—leaving for voluntary insurance only such extra income as people may wish to secure over and above the subsistence benefits provided by social insurance. Of the eight species of benefit provided, six are provided through social insurance—namely Unemployment, Disability, Training, Retirement, Marriage—Maternity—Widowhood, and Funeral Benefits. The remaining two—Children's Allowances and Health and Rehabiliation Services—cannot well be classified either as social insurance benefits or as national assistance benefits. Children's allowances are to be payable wholly by the National Exchequer, but without the Means Test characteristic of national assistance; health benefits are in kind rather than in cash and are available for all without

exception, though less than a quarter of the estimated cost is to come from the Social Insurance Fund and more than three-quarters from public funds. The Plan itself, illogically enough, describes them as *Assumptions*.

The first unique feature of the Beveridge Plan, therefore, from the point of view of methods, is its preference for social insurance, that is, for benefits in return for compulsory contributions rather than free allowances from the State or benefits in return for voluntary contributions. The second unique feature is that, instead of separate contributions of varying amounts for the different benefits, there is to be only a single contribution on a single card for the whole range of benefits; and instead of premiums varying with individual risks, there is to be a uniform contribution from all belonging to the same category or class. The Social Insurance Fund to provide the various social insurance benefits is to be maintained by contributions from the insured persons, from their employers (if any), and from the State—the rates for employees, for employers and independent workers, and for the State being roughly in the proportion of 4 : 3 : 1.5 increasing to 5.

C. Finally, the Report recommends that a special Ministry of Social Security should be set up and made responsible for the whole field of social security—with the exception of the health and rehabilitation services, which are to remain as at present, subject to the Health Departments. This means (*a*) supersession of the existing system of Approved Societies in the field of National Health Insurance; (*b*) supersession of the present scheme of workmen's compensation; (*c*) transfer to the Ministry of Social Security of the present functions of Local Authorities in respect of public assistance; (*d*) supersession, with due compensation for shareholders and staff, of the existing industrial assurance companies, and conversion of the business of industrial assurance into a public service under a special Industrial Assurance Board. Whether a National Health Service and a National Hospital Service should be established and maintained by the State or the existing system of private practice and voluntary hospitals be retained, the Report leaves an open question.

MODIFICATIONS PROPOSED

Though accepting the Report in principle, the British Government proposes to adopt it only with some very far-reaching qualifications and amendments. For instance, it approves of benefit rates for unemployment and disability "not far different" from those recommended, but rejects the suggestion that they should vary with the cost of living or continue indefinitely; it proposes children's allowances of 5s. a week instead of 8s., though with benefits in kind, through the existing Child Welfare Services, to the value of 2s. 6d. a week instead of 1s.; it intends to increase Old Age Pension rates at once rather than gradually, but does

not propose that these rates and the unemployment benefit rates should be the same; it proposes to deal with widows somewhat more generously than the Report recommends; it is sceptical of the proposal to include workmen's compensation in the general social insurance scheme; it is opposed to the proposal to interfere with the existing voluntary insurance system, and convert industrial assurance into a public service; it proposes to alter the contribution rates recommended, principally in favour of insured persons of independent means; and it leans somewhat to the view that the social security services should be administered by a special statutory board—somewhat as National Health Insurance is here—instead of by a special Minister and Ministry of Social Security.

At the moment, therefore, the British Government seems prepared to adopt a much less comprehensive and State-controlled system than the Beveridge Report recommends. It remains to be seen, however, whether it will persist in that attitude, for public opinion in England certainly favours the adoption of the proposals with the minimum of change.

Conditions for Successful Working

The Beveridge Plan is not a plan to produce extra food, clothing, etc., for the needy. It is only a plan to provide extra income for all, so that all may be in a position to buy what they need of these things for themselves. In other words, it presumes that there will be enough and to spare of goods and services of every kind, and it arranges for everybody to draw on them according to his needs up to the subsistence level. This means in practice that the Plan will work only if there is no mass unemployment and if industrial efficiency and output throughout the country are at a maximum.

The Plan does not assume the abolition of unemployment altogether. On its own showing, it will work—that is, the Social Insurance Fund will remain solvent—as long as the total number drawing unemployment benefit does not exceed 1,500,000, or $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total number insured. But unemployment in the decade before the war was at an average figure of over 2,000,000, or nearly 15 per cent. of the numbers then insured. Hence it is obvious that a plan for greater social security after the war without a plan for greater employment security is doomed to fail. Sir William Beveridge does not deal specifically with ways and means of maximising productive employment, but he does insist expressly and emphatically that ways and means must be found—and found by conscious planning here and now.

A second fundamental condition for the success of the Plan is a high level of industrial efficiency and output. Why? Because Britain, before she can afford a standard of living as high as in pre-war days, must make good the wastage of capital and natural resources which the war has caused.

That is one obvious reason. There is another and no less important reason. It is because goods and services must be cheap in the post-war period, and efficiency is the key to low production costs and low prices. Prices must be low, else Britain will find herself unable to secure a market for her export products—and without export trade, she cannot prosper for unemployment will mount and the imports she needs cannot be paid for. Yet wages will be high—a minimum wage of £3 a week seems inevitable in view of the fact that a married man with a family would have the equivalent of £2 12s. 3d. a week on benefit—namely 40s. unemployment benefit, 8s. extra child's allowance, and remission of security contribution of 4s. 3d. High wages and low prices, however, are possible only where the output per worker is big and the profit taken by the capital-owner small.

The road to social security is the narrow road of hard work and hard living on the part of Labour and Capital alike. Will they take it willingly? And if they do not, what must be done to force them? These are questions the Report raises but does not try to meet. It is also the road of high taxation. More than three hundred millions will have to be raised through extra taxes to meet the State's commitments when the scheme comes into operation fully. Can these extra millions be found without saddling the owner of property, the income-tax payer, the consumer with a too crushing burden? That is another of the crucial questions that the Report raises and cannot answer by a priori arguments. The fact that much vaster amounts can be found now for national security is no proof that these millions can be found readily in peacetime. Quite the contrary, for much of the present expenditure is being met by cheques drawn on the future.

Social Security for Eire

Social security policy can only be planned as part of a larger programme, which includes measures for creating employment and maintaining it at a high level, for increasing the national dividend and sharing it equitably, for improving nutrition and housing, for multiplying medical facilities and widening educational opportunities for general and technical education. In planning for social security, therefore, each country, while it may with advantage learn from the experience of others, needs a scheme adapted to its special conditions and its dominant social trends. For this reason, if for no other, there should be little question of adopting the Beveridge Report here in detail or indeed in principle.

Social security in Eire began as part of the British system. Though the popular impression is that it differs from the British system today only in that it provides lower benefits, the fact is that it has developed on lines of its own in certain notable ways. For instance, the administration of the National Health Insurance service has been taken out of the hands

of the Approved Societies and centralised in a single representative statutory body, the National Health Insurance Society, since 1933. More important still, we have no insurance medical service. The Society neither employs doctors of its own to treat insured persons nor contracts with the public health authorities to do so; insured persons, like other groups of the population, avail themselves of the free medical services which the public health authorities provide for the poor. In Great Britain, on the other hand, the insurance societies make themselves responsible directly for the medical care of their members. They arrange, through County Insurance Committees, with the Medical Association the scale of fees and other terms of service for "panel" doctors—a uniform annual capitation fee is the rule—and meet the cost.

Again, industrial insurance and commercial (accident) insurance are not on the same footing here as in England. The Insurance Act of 1936 provided for the co-ordination and ultimate amalgamation of the existing companies in each of these fields and for the creation of a new national company with the State as a very substantial shareholder.

There is no doubt, however, that we must plan for a still more comprehensive and unified system of social security in the near future. But equally there is no doubt that we, a nation with so many small-holders, should not plan along precisely the same lines as an industrialised country like Great Britain, with a population overwhelmingly urban and proletarian. Rather we should turn for inspiration to what countries with an economy and problems more akin to our own are doing and to the Christian social teaching we profess.

Appendix F of the Beveridge Report reviews briefly the social security systems of some thirty countries in all. That Appendix deserves at least as much attention in this country as the main proposals of the Report itself, for in it we have analyses of the systems obtaining in countries like New Zealand and Denmark. But the review is an incomplete one. Strangely enough it makes no mention whatever of Portugal and only cursory mention of South American countries such as Chile and Peru—which, according to the International Labour Office Reports, have built up very impressive social security systems in the last few years. Yet Portugal and the South American Republics are countries that should have a special interest for us, since they have approached the problem of social security largely from the angle of Christian social principles.

But while we have much to learn from a study of other systems, we have most to learn from a study of our own system and the needs for which it must cater. The majority of our people are property-owners, not wage-earners or salaried officials, and they own enough property—land, shops, etc.—to be in a position to provide for themselves and their families by their own efforts. Consequently, they do not need to be secured against poverty by compulsory State insurance. What is more, they are

property-owners only in a small way, and to demand of them weekly contributions on the scale suggested in the Beveridge Plan would reduce them to bankruptcy—to demand of the farmer with two sons and one daughter, for instance, a weekly contribution of 16s. 6d., and make him as a taxpayer bear the extra cost of children's allowances, health and rehabilitation services, and national assistance as well would be both inequitable and socially disastrous. Again, it is admitted generally that the more benefits provided in return for compulsory flat-rate contributions, the less thrifty and provident the beneficiaries become; and it is no less generally admitted that high benefit rates for employment, sickness, etc., are a temptation to slackness in seeking and keeping work. If then universal security means for us still more proletarianism, compulsory security still more improvidence, adequate security still more idleness, we must avoid comprehensive social security on the Beveridge lines at all costs.

Many object to a Means Test as degrading. Others object to it as penalising the thrifty. But perhaps the answer to both objections is to change the nature of the Means Test, not to abolish Means Tests altogether. Would it be possible to devise a Means Test that would take more into account a man's past earnings and less into account his present financial position? Again, many object to the principle of equal contributions from all, irrespective of earnings. Would it be possible to devise a scheme in which the weekly contribution rate would be a fixed percentage—for instance, five per cent. as in New Zealand—of the weekly wage or salary, and benefit rates would vary upward a little from the subsistence minimum? Many object to a State system of security, seeing in it a ready instrument of State tyranny. Would it be possible to obtain the same efficiency and economy in administration through a statutory body on the lines of the present National Health Insurance Society, but on a definitely vocational basis?

The temptation to suggest a commission—or rather a commissioner—to enquire into social insurance and allied services here and to make recommendations is strong. But to suggest such a step would be a disservice to the cause of social security itself, for it would tend to make the problem of social security too much the problem of relieving those in need. Actually the problem of ensuring more benefits for the needy is secondary to the problem of ensuring less needy for the benefits; the problem of countering the results of poverty is secondary to the problem of countering the causes of poverty. Hence our first duty is to tackle the unemployment problem and the wage problem. Work for the out-of-work, a family living wage the national minimum wage, property for the propertyless—these and in this order we must make the main objectives of our social and economic planning. If we succeed in reaching these objectives, we shall have reduced the problem of insecurity to such dimensions that we can afford to deal with it adequately and effectively. C. Lucey

THE RELATION OF CHEMICAL RESEARCH TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR INDUSTRIES*

BY PROFESSOR THOMAS DILLON, D.SC.

THE application of science to industry is by no means new. It is probably as old as science and as old as industry. No manufacturer need think that he is doing something really up to date if he calls in a scientist to solve some difficulty. There are records of such consultations dating back for hundreds of years. Neither is there anything new or strange about a scientific man making some new and useful discovery and having his idea taken up and financed by an industrialist; nor in the employment of a scientifically trained man to direct the technical side of a manufacturing business. Relations such as these between science and industry are very ancient. What is new, if there is anything new under the sun, is the systematic organisation by industry of research work in order to aid its progress—the systematic employment by industry of scientifically-trained men whose duties are to discover and to invent. This custom, which appears to be hardly more than a hundred years old, is now widespread. Many firms now employ large scientific staffs whose members—some at least—spend much time at work of a highly academic character which is not at all different from that done in the universities. Some of these firms publish, for the use of their staffs, journals containing essays on the most recent developments of scientific theory. So striking are the developments arising out of this policy that many States have now taken steps to encourage its growth. They have set up research councils and research institutes, and some of them have spent millions of pounds on research work in the belief, which has again and again been fully justified, that such expenditure will be repaid with heavy interest.

The systematic organisation of science as an aid to industrial development has now extended to all branches of science; but I believe that I am right in saying that it began with chemistry. There are certain reasons why this should be so. Physical science is the most obviously applicable branch of science and chemistry is the more practical division of physical science. At the same time it is somewhat abstruse. It deals with the transformations of matter, and these transformations are more difficult to follow than the mere physical interactions of bodies. To understand the working of a machine sufficiently well to control its operation requires

* Paper read before the Cumann Ceimicidhe na h-Eireann in University College, Dublin on 16 February 1942.

much less education than that required to understand to the same extent the manufacture (say) of a dye. Hence in countries where the educational system is sufficiently good to produce chemists, industries involving chemical change inevitably tend to come under the control of men with a good chemical training—men who understand the value of research and proceed to apply it—while in countries where the educational system is poor these high-grade industries do not take root at all.

Another reason why chemistry has led the way in industrial research is that it is a new science. It is true of course that, in a sense, chemistry is very old. It may be said to have existed since the bronze age at least, since its application is involved in the extraction of the metals. It existed, however, as an art rather than as a science. It was a series of prescriptions for bringing about curious and useful transformations of matter; but the distinguishing mark of a science, a convincing theory binding all these prescriptions together, was absent. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the ground began to be cleared, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century the foundations of a chemical theory began to be well and truly laid. It was not, however, until 1860, when Cannizarro's views on the application of Avogadro's theory to the determination of atomic weights became known, that it became possible to build up a science of chemistry on a reliable basis. It is important to remember this fact that modern chemical science only sprang into existence about 80 years ago. With this new science it is easy to understand how it was worth while and is still worth while to carry out researches in the certainty that new developments of theoretical importance will be followed by new developments of practical utility.

Where did this remarkable idea of organising chemical research for the benefit of industry originate? It arose in Germany. It had its roots in Liebig's work on the application of chemistry to agriculture in the thirties and forties of the last century, when chemical theory was still struggling towards the light; it flowered in the sixties after Kekule had propounded his new theory of valency; and still, with every new development of chemical theory and every new improvement of chemical technique, it goes on bearing more fruit.

The story of the rise in Germany of the synthetic dye industry is widely, if somewhat vaguely, known. It will be worth while to emphasise some points of that story. The first synthetic dyestuff was discovered by the eighteen year old chemical student Perkin in the year 1856. This discovery, which naturally excited great interest among chemists, was soon followed by others. Aniline blue was made by Girard and de Laire in France in 1861, and the following year Nicholson in England made two more blue dyes. These discoveries were all made on what we would now call an empirical basis. Meantime, led by Hofmann, Professor of Chemistry at Berlin, an intensive study of the constitution of the new

dyes based on Kekule's new theory of valency was begun in Germany. This work, during the next thirty years, secured to Germany the monopoly of the new synthetic dye industry. The spirit in which this industry was carried on is well illustrated by the story of the Bayer Co., which was told in the chemical journals on the occasion of the death of Carl Duisberg in 1935. In the eighties of the last century the Bayer Co. was making alizarin and, owing to a slump in that dye, was losing heavily. But instead of dismissing its research staff and reducing the expenses, as an Irish firm might have done, the Bayer Co. did the opposite. The Managing Director engaged three young chemists fresh from the university and sent them to work at three university laboratories—in the hope, no doubt, that one of them at least would prove a winner; and so it turned out. One of the three, Carl Duisberg, came back at the end of the year with work accomplished which soon rehabilitated the firm. Duisberg's work did not, however, stop at that point. In a few years he had made phenacetine from a useless bye-product obtained in the manufacture of an intermediate in the production of a dyestuff. Thus the Bayer Co. was started on its career as a manufacturer of synthetic drugs, a career which has profoundly influenced the course of chemotherapy during the past fifty years and which has recently culminated in the discovery of the bactericidal action of sulphanilamide and its derivatives.

This story of the Bayer Co. is only one of the many triumphs of the systematic application of chemical research to industry which have taken place in Germany since the middle of the last century. But why should this idea of the development of industry through research take root in Germany rather than anywhere else? Germany is not by any means a country rich in raw materials, nor was it in those days highly industrialised like England. It did not indeed seem to have much to which research could be applied. As a matter of fact these were among the reasons why the application of science developed in Germany rather than in England. If in those days one lived over a coal mine, research was merely waste of time as far as making money was concerned. After Perkin's discovery it is said that Caro and other German industrial chemists attempted to establish the synthetic dye industry in Lancashire with English capital. The English were, however, otherwise engaged. Cotton was much more attractive. People resident in Lancashire during the last quarter of the nineteenth century could relate that, so far from a knowledge of science being desirable, a knowledge even of reading and writing was not a requisite for becoming a wealthy manufacturer. Coal and iron and facilities for importing raw materials were quite sufficient. On the other hand, necessity is the mother of invention, and in Germany a growing population unable to find subsistence on the land provided the necessity in abundance.

The necessity for finding employment for the population could, how-

ever, supply only the stimulus for the application of science to industry. Something else was required in order to bring about that application, and that something was supplied by the German system of education. Any person who reads Paulsen's well-known book on the German universities, published about 30 years ago, will see at once how the growth of science and its application to industry were influenced by the German view of the functions of the university.

The universities of Europe, inherited from the Church of the Middle Ages, evolved in different ways in different countries in the period between the Renaissance and the nineteenth century. In England they became institutions for the education of the clergy, the aristocracy, and the wealthy merchant class which was pushing its way into aristocratic society. The ruling classes sent their sons to Oxford and Cambridge to learn how to govern and to receive a gentleman's education, which meant a certain knowledge of the classics, a little mathematics, and not too much vulgar or prying curiosity about the nature of things. There was no room for the poor student, and the atmosphere was not conducive to research.

In France the universities, which had become decrepit under the monarchy, had been destroyed by the Revolution (showing that revolutionaries do not always do the right thing). During the Napoleonic era they were replaced by special technical schools for professions such as medicine and law for which special training was required. " Neither scientific research nor general theoretical instruction is," says Paulsen, " really looked upon as part of the duties [of a professor in these institutions]. The former is the especial function of the Academy, the latter of the preparatory schools." It was not until the period of the Third Republic that the Government awoke to the damage done to learning and research by this system.

The German type of university—which extended to the Netherlands, Scandinavia and parts of Russia—is not, like the old English universities, a product of steady evolution from the Middle Ages. It underwent a sudden development chiefly under the influence of Christian Wolf who taught philosophy at Halle and Marburg during the first half of the eighteenth century. Wolf's philosophy, based on mathematics and physics, laid the foundations of those features which during the nineteenth century were characteristic of the German university and which enabled it to play its extraordinary part in the application of science to industry.

As far at least as scientific research goes, the difference between the German and other universities has nowadays a strong tendency to disappear, especially in the case of newer foundations; but during the nineteenth century this difference was very marked. The fundamental principle of the German university, which then distinguished it from all others, was that the professor's duty was not merely to teach what was already known, but to carry out investigations with a view to extending

the boundaries of knowledge. The German professor was thus, not primarily a scholar with a large fund of knowledge, but an original thinker and investigator ; and his students, who shared in his investigations, were taught to be the same. Furthermore, he was the independent head of his own department, and he was free to take whatever steps he wished in training his students and in prosecuting his investigations.

These conditions were particularly suited to the development of chemical research. Since their natural consequence was that any subject of intellectual interest was worthy of a place in the university, the old idea that classics and mathematics and philosophy embraced all learning was soon brushed aside, and when in England chemistry was still a mere adjunct of the medical school and the professor of chemistry in Cambridge was a country clergyman who came up for a few weeks to give his course, chemistry was being intensively studied in the German universities in the faculty of Philosophy and students were being awarded degrees for original research in the subject. Moreover, the independence of the professor enabled him to break through conventions, and thus Liebig was able to establish at Giessen the first chemical laboratory where students could carry out experimental work. The example of Giessen was soon followed throughout Germany, with the result that during the nineteenth century the universities turned out large numbers of men trained in the methods of scientific investigation. It was these men who established the industries of Germany.

By the beginning of the twentieth century scientific research had so far advanced in Germany that a new need was felt. The academic duties of the university professors, including as they did the training of beginners in research work, often prevented them from undertaking researches which appeared to be too difficult or promised to be too prolonged. For the purpose of such research, as well as to provide an opportunity for research workers unsuited for academic duties, the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute was founded in Berlin—with branches later in other centres. It must be emphasised that these institutions were not intended to take away the duty of research work from the universities.

I have already remarked that the old English universities contributed little to the growth of chemistry during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The influence of Liebig was however felt throughout the world, and in 1842 some former students of Giessen were instrumental in establishing the Royal College of Chemistry in London. Hofmann, another pupil of Liebig, accepted an invitation to be the chief professor at the new college, and during the twenty years of his stay in England he brought about a great development in the study of chemistry in that country. It is indeed remarkable that he did not bring about the same development as he did later in Germany, when he returned to his native country to become professor of chemistry first at Bonn and afterwards

at Berlin. The ground appeared to be much better prepared in England than in Germany. In 1826 James Muspratt, a Dublin chemical manufacturer, had crossed over to Lancashire and had there, from the salt of the Cheshire mines, established the manufacture of alkali, a product which had until then been expensively obtained from kelp. This step led to the foundation of a great new industry, the so-called heavy chemical industry, in which England for long held and perhaps even still holds a paramount position. Surely it might have been expected that the country where this new industry was rapidly developing would also be the place where the scientific study of chemistry and its application to industry would most readily take root and flourish. Yet it has been suggested that the existence of this great heavy chemical industry was the very reason why England did not take readily to chemical research. "There is not much doubt," says an English writer, "that England's success in the manufacture of heavy chemicals on a large scale during the nineteenth century led to neglect rather than to study of the methods by which the chemical industry could become of the highest value to the country," and I have myself already suggested that England's great mineral wealth was one reason for her failure to make use of scientific research in industry. There was, however, another potent reason in the attitude of the country towards university education. A College of Chemistry with Hofmann at its head was all very well; but a country whose universities believed that habits of research were not worthy of inculcation and that chemistry was not a fit subject for study at the university was not likely, whatever opportunities may have existed, to produce an atmosphere in which industries would be created through research.

As the nineteenth century wore on, a change began to take place in the English attitude towards chemistry. The new universities of London, Manchester and Birmingham developed important chemical schools, and eventually Cambridge and even Oxford were forced to take the subject seriously. Yet it was not until the outbreak of the last war that England began to feel the need for the application of research to her industries. She was then confronted with some unpleasant facts of which the worst was perhaps the discovery that German chemists had converted one of the most unpromising reactions into a process for the manufacture of ammonia from the nitrogen of the atmosphere. By this process Germany was rendered independent of imported supplies of nitrogen compounds, so that the effects of the blockade were largely neutralised. Indeed Germany had placed herself in a better position than England with regard to this essential commodity for the prosecution of the war. Furthermore, it transpired that there were numerous products of chemical synthesis necessary for the prosecution of the war and for the maintenance of essential industries which few English chemical manufacturers were capable of producing.

The most important step taken by the British Government to meet this situation was the creation of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. If under the circumstances and in the emergency with which they were faced the Government had decided that they had neither time nor money for purely scientific research and had founded their Council for Industrial Research only, they would have committed a serious but pardonable error. However, they showed enlightenment and sagacity in not merely organising their industrial chemists and engineers for their pressing requirements but also in assisting and encouraging pure scientific research and making provision for the training of future research workers.

The British Department of Scientific and Industrial Research has done and is still doing much to encourage scientific research and to promote its application to industry, and we can learn much by studying its methods and profiting by its experience. In doing so we must, however, be careful to bear in mind the very different circumstances prevailing in that country and here. A small country, without any considerable mineral wealth, starting to reconstruct a somewhat damaged economic system would be unwise to adopt unreservedly the methods of one of the greatest industrial countries in the world.

I have sketched briefly the development of the application of science to industry in Europe. I will now turn to the consideration of our own country. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a certain number of Irishmen played their parts in promoting the growth of physical and chemical science ; but the country as a whole, being in a constant state of political turmoil, with the greater part of the population excluded from all educational facilities, was in no state to be affected either in its philosophy or in its industrial development by the new development of science. The Royal Dublin Society, founded in 1731, has a creditable record of scientific assistance given to agriculture and industry. The Society maintained a research chemist, and amongst the most distinguished holders of the post were William Higgins who anticipated Dalton in the atomic theory and Robert (afterwards Sir Robert) Kane, author of *The Industrial Resources of Ireland*. Kane, who was the son of a Dublin chemical manufacturer, obtained his medical degree at the University of Dublin. Having practised medicine for a short time, he began a career of chemical research and became one of the leading organic chemists of his time. At his suggestion the Museum of Irish Industry was founded, with Kane himself as Director and W. K. Sullivan (who had a degree from Giessen) as chief chemist. This institution, which later became the Royal College of Science, must have been one of the earliest research institutes to be founded in Europe. Perhaps the most notable of its researches was the thorough investigation of the possibility of manufacturing sugar from beet in this country. Beet was

grown in various parts of the country and the sugar content was determined. A pilot plant was set up in the premises of the Museum in Stephen's Green, and sugar was produced on a small manufacturing scale. In 1852 a report, embodying the experimental work of Sullivan and his assitant Alphonse Gage, was presented to the Government. Shortly afterwards a factory was started somewhere in County Carlow; but the venture failed. Its failure is attributed somewhere by Sullivan to the fact that the management got into the hands of people who had no technical knowledge and who did not understand the process. I have reason to believe that this valuable report and all the circumstances connected with it, which had long been forgotten, were unknown to the founders of our first modern beet sugar factory.

Outside the Museum of Irish Industry there were other influences working, against fearful odds, to establish a spirit of scientific inquiry in the country. Sullivan brought the Liebig tradition to the Catholic Uninersity, where he became professor of chemistry on its foundation in 1851. The Queen's Colleges, established in the late forties, were free from the trammels of the old universities, and the first professors of chemistry at Cork and Galway were pupils of Hofmann at the College of Chemistry. (Andrews, the first professor of chemistry in Queen's College, Belfast and celebrated for his discovery of critical temperature, had been a practising physician in Belfast prior to the foundation of the College). Notwithstanding the dismal failure of the Queen's Colleges to attract students, it is noteworthy that the two men who were above all responsible for establishing a spirit of scientific research in the National University—Hugh Ryan professor of chemistry and John A. M'Clelland professor of physics at University College, Dublin—were both graduates of Queen's College, Galway. With the foundation of the National University in 1908 a new era in scientific research in this country may be said to begin —even though, to my mind, that institution is much open to criticism.

It would not be correct to say that those who worked during the nineteenth century for the application of science to industry in Ireland laboured altogether in vain. They introduced into the country the new ideas of applied science and they preserved, under difficult circumstances, the continuity of these ideas for transmission to us. Their labours, however, led to little if any practical results commensurate with their abilities, and they were destined to see the fruits of those labours perish in the political storm of the period. We are in a far happier position, and if we fail to apply science effectively to the development of our industries, we shall have only ourselves to blame. I think therefore that it would be worth while to point out some fundamental principles in the application of scientific research to industry, which have not been grasped and which must be grasped by the people of this country if we are to achieve any real success in the development of our industries.

As far as the application of science to industry goes, I think that the attitude of the people of this country might be summed up by saying that we thoroughly appreciate the results of scientific research; but we don't like or appreciate the people who produce the results. We like the honey, but we are afraid of being stung by the bees. We are severely practical in our attitude towards science. We want only applied science and have little sympathy with anyone who wishes to pursue scientific study merely for the purpose of finding out the truth. We are not alone in this point of view. Mr. Maisky, the Russian Ambassador in London, recently created a mild sensation in English scientific circles by declaring that " there is no place in the U.S.S.R. for pure science." Being a good diplomatist, his words are capable of two opposite interpretations. If he meant that all scientific knowledge is useful, then the Soviets are on the right track. If, on the other hand, he meant that no scientific worker in Russia will receive any encouragement unless he can prove to some authority that his work will lead directly to some practical application, then the extreme west and the extreme east of Europe, Ireland and Russia, are in agreement and from neither of them is any real industrial development to be expected until their point of view is changed.

The fact, of course, is that it is impossible to draw any line of demarcation between pure and applied science. Industry is a struggle to adapt natural products to the use of man so as to raise his standard of living. Natural science is the knowledge of the processes by which nature works, and scientific research is an effort to extend that knowledge. The more we know about the forces of nature, the greater will be our control over them, and no person can say that any fact discovered about natural processes is useless. Many of the great industries of today are by-products of the work of men who were interested solely in the discovery of the secrets of nature. What practical business man or what government interested solely in industrial research would have financed Faraday's researches on electromagnetic induction, to which we owe electric lighting and heating and almost every other practical application of electricity? About thirty years ago Sabatier, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Toulouse, was interested in the catalytic action of metals in promoting reactions between gases. No so-called practical business man would at that time have seen any possible commercial outcome of Sabatier's researches. Yet they led directly to the great modern industry by which fish oils are converted into solid fats for food or for soap manufacture, and they were the first steps in the Fischer-Tropsch processes for the manufacture of motor spirit from carbon and hydrogen, a process now in use in Germany. A few years ago Nieuland, an American priest, professor of chemistry in the University of Notre Dame, was interested in the compounds formed by the action of copper salts on acetylene. His experiments led to the discovery of a synthetic rubber, which he handed

over to a firm of chemical manufacturers for development. This product is said to be less permeable to gases than natural rubber and would thus be more suitable for certain applications. In passing, I may remark that the German synthetic rubber also has acetylene as its starting-point, and the high cost of both the American and the German products as compared with natural rubber is probably due to the high cost of acetylene. The lowering of the cost of acetylene is therefore a problem of great economic importance. If and when this problem is solved, it will probably be through the study of catalytic reactions in gases.

I have just mentioned some examples of investigations which were undertaken from a purely academic desire for knowledge and which led to striking practical results. Such examples might be multiplied almost indefinitely. Practical results are not, however, always mere by-products of a search for knowledge. The basis of the synthetic dye industry was a systematically planned search for compounds with new colours and desirable properties from the dyer's point of view. Synthetic ammonia and the contact process for the manufacture of sulphuric acid are other examples of researches planned with a specific practical object in view. The most recent case of this kind is the new synthetic fibre nylon. Thus pure and applied chemistry are inextricably interwoven, and to attempt to draw a line between them is a fatal waste of time.

I have just mentioned nylon. The story of the development of this new synthetic fibre is indeed a most instructive example of the correct method of applying chemical science. It was told by E. K. Bolton, Chemical Director of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., on the occasion of his reception of a medal from the New York section of the American Chemical Society in November 1941. The story begins in 1927, when Dr. Stine, then Chemical Director, decided to set up fundamental research as an important activity of his department. The services of Dr. Wallace Carothers, who had for two years been an instructor at Harvard, were secured as head of this new section. Carothers was not left to do what he could all alone. He was surrounded by a small group of well-trained organic chemists and was encouraged to begin work on problems of his own selection. He was also provided with ample funds for apparatus. The subject which he chose for his researches was polymerisation by condensation and the structure of substances of high molecular weight. After about seven years of work, during which many new types of organic compound were synthesised and studied, on February 28, 1935, he synthesised for the first time what he called a super-polymer from hexamethylene diamine and adipic acid. This material was called "66," the first digit indicating the number of carbon atoms in the diamine and the second the number in the acid. It was afterwards given the trade name of nylon. It was capable of being drawn into a fibre superior in many properties to any natural fibre. The problem of making this labora-

tory product on the manufacturing scale had now to be taken up. It resolved itself mainly into a search for the cheapest means of producing hexamethylene diamine and adipic acid in the factory. This research was not done by Carothers, who went on with his studies on polymerisation. The third and final stage in the production of nylon was a chemical engineering problem which included the designing of plant (1) for the manufacture of adipic acid and the diamine, (2) for combining these two ingredients to the polymer, and (3) for spinning the thread. For the latter purpose it was necessary to design pumps to work at a temperature of 285 C (545 F) since the polymer is spun in the molten state. This involved engineering design of a very high order. Five years after the synthesis of 66, or twelve years from the day that Carothers began his work on polymerisation, nylon yarn was being produced for the hosiery trade. The production in 1941 was at the rate of 8 million pounds per annum and this year, when new plant comes into operation, production is expected to go up to 16 million pounds per annum. " From the inception of the laboratory work," says Bolton, " until the day when the designs could be turned over to the construction engineers, about 230 chemists and engineers were at one time or another engaged in this development."

The development of nylon is a sort of microcosm of what should be done by the State for the application of science to industry. Note that the first step was the employment of a chemist to engage in pure fundamental research of his own choosing. The State, however, must begin a stage further back. It must inquire about the sources of its research workers, and it must take steps to secure that supplies from these sources are adequate in numbers and satisfactory in training. Indeed this provision of a supply of trained research workers is perhaps the chief duty of the State in this matter, since if a satisfactory supply existed they would, to some extent at least, look after the rest of the business themselves. Research is a spirit, and I have pointed out how that spirit was created and fostered by the German system of education. We in this country have no great reputation in science, certainly nothing commensurate with our reputation in literature, and until we have considerably improved matters in this respect, there is little prospect of bringing about industrial development by the application of science.

Now the number of persons in any country having the mentality and temperament for scientific research is probably only a small fraction of the total population, and on the encouragement given to this small fraction depends the growth of science in the country. The first question then to ask is whether our system of education is of such a character as to foster and develop the habits of independent thought which are necessary for a good research worker? I am afraid that the answer to that question is " no." Our system of secondary education, or rather our system of

financing our secondary schools, is decidedly against the encouragement of independent thought. That system was not, as so many people appear to think, given to us by St. Patrick. Against the protests of many Irish educational authorities it was introduced by the British Government in the seventies of the last century, because it afforded a convenient method of endowing Catholic schools and denying such endowment in the House of Commons. There is nothing sacred about it, and there is no reason on earth why we should not try to replace it by something better. It has indeed been slightly modified by our own government; but its worst features still remain. One reason for retaining it is the false appearance of efficiency that it gives to our worst teachers and our worst schools.

Through this system of big public examinations all our secondary teachers are prevented from inculcating habits of inquiry and original thought and all our schoolboys are taught that such habits do not pay. At the risk of being thought a crank I have introduced this question here, because I am convinced that it is one of the most serious obstacles to our scientific development. My own experience as a university teacher is that, unless a boy has some counteracting influence at home, it takes years to convince him that he did not come into the world solely for the purpose of learning other people's ideas and putting them down on an examination paper. An alteration in this system whereby a secondary teacher would be given some independence in his own classes would, in my opinion, remove a great obstacle to the growth of a spirit of scientific inquiry in this country.

Assuming that a youth has escaped so far from the examination influence that he desires to take up a career of scientific inquiry, he will next go to one of the universities. Here he must go through three years of preliminary training before he can begin to try his hand at original research. How long must he work before he can claim to be a trained research worker? Faraday, who knew what he was talking about on this subject, said twenty years. However, let us be a little more moderate. I think that after three years of original work a student would begin to find his feet. What inducement is there for students to undergo this long training of six years? I am afraid that there is very little. There is every inducement for the poor student to go in for medicine, a profession in which immediate employment is certain, if not in this country, in England. The unconventional calling of a chemist is by no means so certain, and in the interests of the country those who have the aptitude and the desire for that calling should be given every encouragement. I have often met students who wished to take up chemistry and who would make very competent members of that profession, but they were deterred by the uncertainty of its prospects. We require some adequate system of maintenance grants to assist such students through their training and some arrangement by which they would be enabled to continue work until

they could find their way into industry. Arrangements of this kind would do something to stem the tide of what I may call the higher emigration and would provide many men who would play an important part in the development of our industries.

It appears to me that the work done by the German universities for the development of German industry and the recent example of du Pont de Nemours & Co. make it clear that the first thing for us to do, to bring about the effective application of chemical research to our industries, is to bring about a greater development of fundamental chemical research in the universities. This could be done by introducing some machinery, such as the University Grants Committee in England, which would ascertain the requirements of any scientific department in any of the university colleges that was engaged in research. Promising students should be provided with research fellowships which would enable them to continue their work in any of the colleges. These men would constitute a source on which industry could draw for chemical personnel. They would be certain to turn out work which would be useful to the country. Since the college laboratories are already in existence, a scheme of this kind would not be so expensive.

But in these hard times can we afford to spend money on the development of research in the universities? The answer is that we cannot afford to do without it. The Industrial Research Council, founded a few years ago, has not perhaps achieved any striking success (for reasons which cannot be gone into here); yet it can be definitely stated that but for the existence of that Council, we would be in certain respects worse off in the present emergency than we are. In a country which is not rich in mineral wealth scientific research is not a luxury; it is an absolute necessity. Its tendency is to minimise the importance of the possession of raw materials. It can ultimately bring into use whatever raw materials are available.

Let us then make up our minds that expenditure on research is as necessary as expenditure on defence. It has however a great advantage over defence. Everybody hopes that the occasion for bringing our defence forces into action will never arise. Even their victory would involve destruction. With a research army, on the other hand, the sooner it goes into action against the forces of nature the better, and when it does go into action its victories will be positive gains and will be numerous.

THOMAS DILLON

FRANZ WERFEL AND "THE SONG OF BERNADETTE"

BY PROFESSOR MARY M. MACKEN, M.A.

IN an age of critical log-rolling and publishing blurbs, it is not often that a best-seller possesses artistic integrity, not to speak of spiritual significance. Sometimes the best-seller is mere book-making, a brilliant piece of make-up. Is this the character of Werfel's novel? At the moment we have no means of knowing what are its repercussions on those who speak German, though the book was originally written and printed in that medium in Sweden in 1941. But its appeal to readers of the most varied type in the English-speaking world has been immediate and profound. In America indeed—that land of white-heat publishing—the romance of Werfel's escape from France in 1940 and his arrival in America may have put sales up in 1942. Jewish propaganda for yet another exile may have worked here and there. The American and English publishers may have been canny in calculating the moment of America's entry into the war to coincide with the appearance of this strange new type of refugee literature! But all these possibilities fail to account for the effect produced here and elsewhere on hundreds of readers to whom Werfel's history meant little and his name less. It is precisely in this effect of a book that has none of the usual features of a best-seller—that is, in fact, only the human and superhuman history of a poor peasant girl become a saint of the Church—that I see a proof of the abiding excellence of *The Song of Bernadette.*

It has become a commonplace of æsthetic theory that the act of Divine Creation has its human counterpart in the artistic process, which involves a trinity of activity—idea, embodiment, fulfilment of the spirit. All three constitute the power of the artist, all three are interrelated and in the perfect creation, equally balanced—the spirit generating the vital spark that sets the artist's public vibrating in tune with him. Only the creative artist can evoke such a harmony of emotion between himself and his public; the book-maker cannot achieve it. He may seem to do so, but his evocation is an *Ersatz* product; it soon wears out. Goethe stresses this truth in *Faust* when he insists on quality of inner experience, integrity of inspiration and consequent sincerity of form—all of which, ultimately fulfilled in the spirit, necessarily communicate themselves to the public. Their enjoyment is a contribution to and a part of the purpose of the act of creation.

My reaction to *The Song of Bernadette* is, for me at least, a mark of the artist's integrity and of the spiritual character of his inspiration—qualities

never before, to my mind, unequivocally shown in this writer's work. Werfel is no newcomer to European literature. He is aged 53, the son of a Prague Jew, a glove manufacturer with international trade relations. An acknowledged leader of the Expressionist movement in lyric, drama and novel from 1911 to 1924 he was—and often very sensationally—before the German public with, among others, his fellow townsmen and co-religionists Franz Kafka and Max Brod. If one is willing to apply the terms "religious" to a tendency that connoted neither dogma nor indeed any definite belief, this movement had a "religious" character. That character, made more problematic by the undoubted difficulties that confront the Jew and that are frequently of the stuff of his thought, remains always in Werfel's writing.

Expressionism as an art-form implied a spiritual awareness, however fantastic may have been the forms in which that awareness clothed itself. The German Expressionists were seekers after the lost soul of their world. They cried out for the meaning of a universe whose riddle the natural sciences had purported to solve. The cry became revolutionary—an indictment—youth against age, son against father; beast of burden, animal or subhuman against the tyrant man or superman. The existing order was suspect, and there was sabotage—nowhere less harmful than in the content and form of World War and post-World War literature.

No one of these Expressionists was more anarchic than Werfel. Like many Jews he was argumentative—an active pamphleteer. He proclaimed it as a duty to defy what seemed to him an inhuman order of society. He was anti-war and "activist," making propaganda for his views. It is not surprising that he was quoted in newspapers and elsewhere when the collapse came in 1918 and that his propaganda was not forgotten. In the war itself, in which he served in the trenches in Galicia, he was a saboteur. I do not imagine that his sabotage had anything to do with his Czech birthplace. There may have been Slav blood in him, but it did not draw him back to Prague in 1918. He was never nationalist, rather international—the destiny, perhaps, of his race. Be that as it may, Werfel seems to have been in revolt from his first youth. He early rebelled against the discipline of home and of business; the climax and perhaps the catharsis of this fever of subversiveness found sensational expression in the lyric volume "Gerichtstag" (Judgment Day) and in the first novel "Nicht der Mörder, der Ermordet ist schuldig" (Not the murderer but the murdered man is the guilty one). The theme is one which Werfel hardly invented—Georg Kaiser had it also!

Expressionism had spent itself by 1924 and the world had, for the time at least, shaken down into its new moulds. The new German literary watchword—a reaction to the cries and the ecstasies of the first decades of the century—was objectivity, a study of phenomena, not indeed in their surface appearance but in their essence. Werfel in Vienna from 1917

to 1938 seems to have abandoned lyric for drama and epic. It is extremely doubtful whether, in spite of remarkable individual poems such as " Das Gespräch an der Mauer des Paradieses " (Conversation at the Wall of Eden) and of his love for and understanding of music, he was ever a lyric poet. His emotion clothes itself too often in abstractions. He has no feeling for colour and tone in language ; his form is almost always harsh. Instead of the half Pagan, half Christian symbolical mystical plays such as " Spiegelmensch " and " Bocksgesang," he now set himself to write historical dramas—choosing moments of conflict, turning-points in the life of the individual or group, as in " Paulus unter den Juden " (Paul among the Jews) " Juarez und Maximilian," " Das Reich Gottes in Böhmen " (The Kingdom of God in Bohemia). These plays were acted in Germany down to the advent of the third Reich and though they are interesting in idea and had a certain success at the time, they lack that structural strength which is the first requisite for drama. He wrote novels : " Verdi " is a study, often wearisome because overladen and diffuse, of a moment of conflict in the life of the Italian composer conceived as rival of Wagner ; " Barbara," a slice of Austrian history of the pre-war, war and post-war periods as " experienced " by the hero, Ferdinand R. Like " Verdi " this work is overladen and diffuse ; but the author, as if aware of his deficiencies, camouflages the diffuseness by calling his four subdivisions of the 800 odd pages Fragments from Life. The undoubtedly autobiographical character of this novel, together with its strong religious mystical note, Christian as well as Jewish, and the light it throws on the political, cultural and social problems of a very problematic epoch, make it an interesting document, if not—and it is not—an artistic achievement. " Der Tod des Kleinbürgers " (The Death of a Poor Man) is a remarkable study with psycho-analytical implications of the reactions of economic collapse in the Lower Middle Classes in post-war Vienna. It is in another category from " Verdi " and " Barbara," and in its strict unity and in the limited range of its figure-subjects it is rather a *Novelle* than a *Roman*. I do not propose, therefore, to bring it into relation with the sequence of Werfel's prose epics culminating, so far, in *The Song of Bernadette*. The other novels in the early thirties of this century, " Die Geschwister von Neapel " (The Naples Family) and " Die Vierzig Tage des Musa Dagh," I have not read and cannot make use of here.

Both " Verdi " in 1924 and " Barbara " in 1929 were hailed by the critics in Germany as indicative of an advance—but still rather by way of promise than fulfilment. In 1929 Werfel was thirty-nine years of age and, even making allowances for the set-back of the war, he should have realised his promise at forty. The prose epic was obviously his medium—lyric and drama had been laid aside. There are not wanting hints in Werfel's work, as well as in occasional comments of his critics, of a dualism in him,

an unsolved conflict between his inner and outer self—the "religious" artist and the merely literary man. That is perhaps the significance of the Expressionist trilogy "Spiegelmensch," with its mirror man and real man. Many another such residuum of this conscious or subconscious conflict might be found in Werfel's work. I think its traces are clear in the general inconclusiveness of "Barbara" as well as in the riot of episodic characters, the eclectic mood and the lack of structure in both novels. The book-maker is cutting across the artist.

The Song of Bernadette, considered as a Werfel novel, is in the line of succession to "Verdi" and "Barbara," even though the differences are obvious. Like them it is a novel of actuality, moving on two planes—a documentary record of an experience which marked a turning-point in the life of a poor peasant girl of Lourdes. This experience is shown embedded, as it were, in the life of her countryside, but reaching out dramatically far beyond it. The experience in all three novels is spiritual in character, taking that word in its widest acceptation. In the "Song" alone is it directly related to a creed which is the form and habit of life of the heroine and her people. Strictly within the framework of that creed and its observances, Bernadette moves through the twenty-one years of her life after the apparitions and through death to the close in the splendid ceremony of sanctification in St. Peter's. Though this is Bernadette's story, Franz Werfel is not here writing the life of a saint. It is necessary to stress this obvious fact, for some Catholic critics seem to imply that he is. He is no hagiologist, but primarily an artist who, though working in immediate fulfilment of a vow, does so nevertheless in the forms and moulds that he has made his own. His "Song" is of Bernadette, as when we say "Le Chanson de Roland" or "Das Nibelungenlied" and know these to be poems of epic range—epochal compositions—vast battle-grounds with hero and adversary set amongst their several adherents. Werfel follows here the technique of "Barbara" and "Verdi" and gives us, alongside Bernadette's lowly life, a sketch of the France of 1858—70, the Second Empire and its fall, the age of Michelet and Taine, Comte and Renan, Voisin and Charcot, the new age of reason, of the substitute gods—science and a science-dominated art. All these things seem to have nothing to do with Bernadette or her vision, but she is drawn into their vortex. Though she is happily unaware of it, they may well have been the challenge to the divine; just as it might well seem that positivism, which had set up Clotilde de Vaux, in the decade of Bernadette's birth, as a substitute Virgin Mother, was at Lourdes literally confounded.

As Lourdes and its happenings in 1858—four years after the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception—were rich in symbolism for the Church itself as well as for those outside it, *The Song of Bernadette* is rich in symbolic conflicts finely woven by its author into the general design. There are M. l'Abbé Peyramale, a great creation—

who grows so pale at Bernadette's final revelation of the significance of her vision—him Werfel, with the cunning of genius, keeps alive two years after his earthly term so that he may bring him to the death-bed of his child conqueror—one of the most moving scenes in literature; Soeur Marie Thérèse Vauzous, vigorous intellectual, French military aristocrat, prostrate, after a proud struggle, at the feet of the least of her novices; the sceptic Dr. Dozous, disciple of Voisin, keen observer of phenomena, surrendering with M. l'Abbé on conviction and completely; Hyacinthe Lafitte, perhaps a symbol of the author; café wit, man of letters and poet, " The Lady's " proudest foe, on his knees at the end at the grotto: " Bernadette Soubirous, pray for me."

Some readers have found Werfel's 397 closely-printed pages too long. They compare most favourably with the 800 odd of " Barbara," as Bernadette does, altogether outside the sphere of her sanctity, with the unnamed hero Ferdinand of the earlier novel. I do not like to reduce literature to terms of arithmetic, but the difference in length represents for me in " The Song " a remarkable advance in structural economy, a greatly increased artistry and a new unity of design. The trinity of creation—idea, form, spirit—is working, for the first time (I hold), in Werfel. Of book-making or literary shamming there is no trace. How explain the mystery of evocation which this non-Christian writer here accomplished? Was the initial emotional urge purer? Did this, added to the sacred character of the theme, contribute to give the artist a better remove? Did it act as a check on an exuberant theatricality which was one of Werfel's weakenesses? Is Werfel, though never baptised, in spirit a Christian? " Barbara " devotes a great many pages to the ideas of a Jew who believed in Christ and planned a reconciliation between his people and the Catholic Church. Writers on Werfel in the 30's in Germany spoke of his " Elective Christianity." Any further probing into the subject would seem to be an impertinence, and æsthetic theorists may hold that art explains itself and may well denote a white as it often does a black magic. Simple people, like Bernadette herself—" of such is the Kingdom of Heaven "—will accept the Song as a direct intervention of " The Lady." Who shall say that they are wrong?

MARY M. MACKEN

AGRICULTURAL PROSPERITY AND URBAN EMPLOYMENT*

BY HENRY KENNEDY, M.A., D.SC.

I WELCOME the opportunity of addressing what is mainly a non-agricultural audience on a subject to which too little attention is devoted by the average urban dweller. There are too few opportunities of presenting the case of the farmer population, and as a result there has developed and is developing a dangerous cleavage and a certain antagonism between town and country. In this address my main contention is that the growth of opportunity and the growth of employment, throughout the length and breadth of the country, will be largely dependent on the extent to which the natural resources of the country are utilised, and of these natural resources by far the greatest and most important are the land and the climate. I hope to show that in our agriculture there is an enormous field for development, which would involve a definite if limited increase of employment on the land but, on the analogy of experience in other countries, a far greater increase of employment off the land in secondary and tertiary industries.

It is customary for economists to be rather doleful about our future. Recently, in an article in the *Economist*, the Irish correspondent referred to the fact that there was a rigidity in the national income in the past and that rigidity seemed likely to be a feature of the future. As to the past, that is a statement of fact; as to the future, it may be a true prophecy; but that depends on our leadership, our energy and our competence as a people in exploiting our land resources. The Majority Report of the Banking Commission strikes the same lugubrious note. In a passage on page 37 there is a sentence which seems to me to be the basis of the conclusions which have led to so much criticism. The sentence sums up the position of agriculture as follows :—" The Commission can, therefore, conclude that, notwithstanding the programme for an increase in home production of wheat, other cereals and sugar beet, Free State agriculture should continue to be in a position to export livestock and livestock products without any serious diminution in volume." If that statement is taken as referring to things as they are, it is a statement of fact; if it involves an acceptance of the present position as a guide for the future, it is a truly astonishing statement.

I want at this stage to emphasise the fundamental importance of exports —and exports will be mainly agricultural products—as affecting employ-

* An address delivered in University College, Cork, on 24 January 1943.

ment and the standard of living. The production of agricultural products, their processing and transport are important elements in creating direct employment. But agricultural exports have a far wider import. As we live in a country not richly endowed with the raw materials of industry, agriculture must provide the means of importing the things which are essential if our population is to enjoy a reasonable standard of life, and in this connection it is mere futility to sigh for the simpler conditions of the past. The great variety of these things which have to be imported—whether food materials which cannot be produced here, raw materials for industrial production, or finished industrial products—has in recent times been brought vividly home to us by their disappearance or their shortage. The more things are brought in for better housing, better clothing, greater industrial production, better transport, or greater amenities of life, the more agricultural goods must be sent out to pay for them. It is largely true to say that the more people are employed here and the higher the standard of life, the greater will be the need for imports and consequently for more agricultural production for export. I do not see how this country can escape from the alternative of exporting goods—and these must be mainly agricultural products—or exporting human beings. Agricultural production, therefore, is not merely something that concerns the farmer alone. It equally concerns every citizen in the State, and above all it concerns the young generation, for on it depends mainly their chances of employment in their own country. Agricultural development and agricultural prosperity are—or should be—of vital interest in town as well as in country.

It is, of course, fundamental for agricultural development that the man on the land should get a reasonable living from the land. If he does not get that reasonable living, there will be no agricultural development as there obviously will be no agricultural prosperity. Let us, therefore, examine for a moment how the farmer has fared in recent years. The data is limited, but as far as it goes it is excellent. Mr. Michael Murphy of University College, Cork, has published the results of two surveys, one carried out in 1937-38 on 98 farms in North Cork. These farms were far larger than the average for the country—they averaged 74 acres—and the land is considerably better than the average. Milk production is the main form of activity in the area. The survey showed that, if 4 per cent. were allowed as interest on capital, the labour reward to a unit of non-hired labour averaged 16s. per week. In 1940-41 Mr. Murphy made a survey of 61 farms in West Cork. These were smaller farms, averaging 28 acres. It is a tillage area, 23 per cent. of the land being under crops. Again allowing 4 per cent. on capital, the labour reward for a non-hired unit of labour was about 19s. per week.

These facts, ascertained by an economist of great ability and of the highest integrity, are very depressing facts. And they are facts with which

the urban and industrial population are—or should be—gravely concerned ; for farmers are consumers as well as producers. Those deriving a livelihood from the land represent about half the total population. They are a market for the products manufactured or distributed by industrial and urban interests. They constitute a very poor market, indeed, because of their low purchasing power. I say again that it is of primary importance to the non-agricultural section of our community to make whatever contribution they can by sympathetic consideration of the economic problems of the countryside. These problems of low income, low purchasing power, resultant discontent, and depopulation of the country cannot be spirited away by wishful thinking. The problems must be faced and the solutions found, if prosperity is to return.

It is indeed true that this country has with other agricultural countries suffered its share from the catastrophic fall in prices from 1930 onwards. Here that fall in prices was accentuated by the economic war. As a result of both, serious inroads have been made in the farmer's capital, a factor which delayed recovery when better economic conditions were restored.

But there is another factor which, in my opinion, is of paramount importance in examining the decay of our agriculture—a factor which we must face boldly and honestly if we are to plan a better future. That factor is that we have lagged seriously behind more progressive countries in efficiency and economy of agricultural production. To make that quite clear I shall make a comparison with two countries, widely separated by geography and widely different in farming methods. The first of these is Denmark, where the farming is based mainly on cultivated crops ; the second is New Zealand, where the farming is based mainly on grass.

The most striking fact of our agriculture is that production has remained almost stationary in the last forty years. In contrast with the relative stagnation in this country progress in Denmark is very striking. The agricultural acreage of that country is approximately two-thirds of the agricultural acreage of Eire, and the population is approximately 3,500,000. Since 1903 milch cows have increased by 65 per cent., total cattle by 70 per cent., the number of pigs have more than trebled, and the number of poultry more than doubled. The export of butter in 1937 was two and a half times the export in 1900, the export of bacon almost three times, and the export of eggs almost five times the figures for 1900. In 1937 the exports of butter were, approximately, eight times ; of bacon seven times ; and of eggs five times the quantities from Eire in the same year. In 1925 the net value of the agricultural exports from Denmark was three times the value of the net exports from Eire.

While the land in the Danish Islands is on the whole fertile, the greater part of the land in Jutland is naturally poor and sandy. Much of the agricultural land has been reclaimed from barren heath. As regards

fertility of soil, Denmark has certainly no natural advantage over this country. The achievement of Danish agriculture is the result of high technical skill in the adaptation of production methods to the special conditions of soil and climate peculiar to the country, and in directing production towards the output of products of the highest quality and uniformity to suit the markets available. In Denmark almost the entire agricultural area is under the plough, the proportion of the area under the main crops being approximately: cereals 44 per cent.; root crops 16 per cent.; clover for grazing and hay 33.5 per cent.

There is a widespread misunderstanding with regard to the basis of Danish production. It is generally believed that it is mainly based on the conversion of imported feeding stuffs into animal products. The truth is very far removed from this conception. In the years 1935-37 of all the food units used only 15 per cent. were imported. In those years the average net imports of oil cake and corn—including bread grains, wheat and rye—amounted to approximately 1,700,000 tons. In the year 1936 the total imports to this country were approximately 600,000 tons. In proportion to the population needs for bread grains and to the production of agricultural products the imports are relatively far higher in this country.

I now consider the development of production in New Zealand, a country basing its production of livestock products mainly on grass as contrasted with the tillage crops of Denmark. The number of cows has more than doubled since 1919-20. The statistics show that while production has substantially increased in New Zealand's other major products—namely, lamb, mutton and wool—there has been an extraordinary increase in the output of dairy products. The output of butter in 1933-34 was almost five times that in 1919-20, and in the same period the production of cheese increased by almost 60 per cent.

The extraordinary growth of production in these two countries (supplying the same markets and operating under such different conditions of climate and technique) as contrasted with the relative stagnation in this country, provides *prima facie* evidence that our agriculture has failed to develop a technique of production and an organisation of productive methods suitable and adequate for the realisation of the possibilities of our soil and climate. It is, therefore, essential to examine the shortcomings of our farming methods in relation to our conditions of soil and climate and, if possible, to suggest solutions of our special problems.

It would, of course, be an overstatement to say that we have made no improvement from the beginning of the century; but the facts as set out show clearly that whatever improvements have been made have had no real influence on the total of agricultural production. I think it is fair to say that improvement has been mainly confined to a limited number of cultivated crops. In normal pre-war years the total of cultivated crops

was limited to approximately 1½ million acres, leaving some 10 million acres in grass and hay. It is mainly because of the lack of progress in the production and utilisation of grass that the output of our agricultural land has not progressed. Within the last twenty years there has been a veritable revolution in the methods of production and the methods of utilisation of grass. That revolution in grassland technique must be accepted here as the basis of agricultural development and prosperity. Grass is far and away our most important crop—greatest by far in acreage and, potentially, the most prolific in food units per acre devoted to it. Agricultural production in any country is dominated by conditions of soil and climate, and wise agricultural planning should be directed mainly to those crops which give the greatest yield of food units per acre at the lowest cost. Our soil is reasonably fertile. Our main climatic feature is high rainfall, more or less uniformly distributed throughout the year. That feature is of the first importance for the production of grass; and there are few places on the earth's surface where that feature of high rainfall is so favourable for grass production as here.

But if we are to use the advantage of climate for grass production, we must seriously concern ourselves with grass as a crop, not as a gift of nature. We must learn the new technique of grass production. This is not the place to go into details on that technique, but let me emphasise here that there is no conflict whatever between the rational production of grass and the rational use of the plough. The plough over the greater part of the country is an essential element in the production of grass according to modern ideas.

It is well to consider what are the production possibilities of the land of the country. In endeavouring to make an estimate one is faced with two major difficulties. The first is that while it is possible to make reasonable assumptions of the yields of the major crops, there is not adequate information available of the possible average yields from grass produced according to the new technique. The second difficulty is that the statistics do not give adequate information to enable an estimate to be made of how much land is really available to produce any postulated grass or crop yields. I have made a calculation on the basis of possible average yields of cereals and potatoes, and I have made a variety of assumptions of average yields of grass. The highest of these yields I think quite feasible, but the lowest is certainly attainable on land of average quality which can be ploughed. I assume, of course, high skill and technique and adequate capital resources.

I first take the land necessary to provide the existing population with their total food requirements, including wheat and sugar beet. That does not necessarily mean acceptance of the view that, under peace conditions, their production is in accordance with the best use of the land. The result of the calculation, on the basis of three assumptions of the

yield of food-units from grassland, is that the amount of land necessary to provision the whole present population is :—(*a*) 3,000,000 acres, (*b*) 3,250,000 acres, (*c*) 3,500,000 acres. The total area of the twenty-six counties is approximately 17,000,000 acres, of which about 11,600,000 acres are classed in the official statistics as under crops and pasture, while the remaining 5,400,000 acres include " woods and plantations, grazed and barren mountain, turf bog, marsh, water, roads, etc." There seems to be no information available as to the line of demarcation between the land defined as under crops and pasture and that under mountain grazing—nor is there any information as to the amount of land which has returned to the wild as a result of neglect. It would, therefore, be rash to assume that the whole 11,600,000 acres can be reckoned to have the production possibilities postulated. Some of the land will not be ploughable, and on that account there may be very strict limitations on the possibilities of improvement. It is suggested, however, that an estimate can be made on a fairly conservative basis that the total land is the equivalent, in production possibilities, of (say) 9,500,000 acres of land capable of giving the assumed yields.

An estimate is now made of the land necessary to produce over and above home food requirements :—

500,000 fat cattle at 10 cwts.
500,000 stores at 5 cwts.
3,200,000 cwts. butter.
4,000,000 pigs (2 cwts.) as bacon.
15,000,000 great hundreds eggs.

To simplify the calculations it is assumed that no imported animal feeding stuffs are used. The result, on the three assumptions of grass production, is—

(*a*) 4,250,000 acres
(*b*) 4,750,000 ,,
(*c*) 5,500,000 ,,

The land available, after home requirements are covered, would be :—

(*a*) 6,500,000 acres
(*b*) 6,250,000 ,,
(*c*) 6,000,000 ,,

Thus the figures of production for export assumed above could be increased, under the different conditions assumed, by the following approximate percentages :—(*a*) 50 per cent., (*b*) 30 per cent., (*c*) 10 per cent. On the basis of the prices ruling from 1910-1914 the value of the surplus after the requirements of the existing population are met, would be :—(*a*) £102,000,000, (*b*) £88,000,000, (*c*) £75,000,000. Compare these figures with the net exports of slightly over £8,000,000 in 1937.

Let me emphasise again what these figures mean. They represent the physical possibilities of the land restored to a high state of fertility and operated with the necessary labour, the necessary skill, the necessary equipment and the necessary capital resources—with certain assumptions of *average* yields per acre, the maximum of which I believe possible, but as to the minimum of which I think there can be no doubt. The figures represent an objective, a goal, which can be more and more nearly approached in proportion to our capacity as a people to mobilise our energies of mind and body towards the full use of our land and climate.

A very obvious question will at once present itself. Even if it were possible to achieve or even approach the objective of production set out, where are the markets? On that question I can give no answer, for to attempt an answer would need a knowledge of the future vouchsafed to no human being. I think, however, that the disastrous condition in the world of the 1930's, with surplus food and starving people, with surplus goods and no buyers, has created an undue pessimism with regard to the future. When the nightmare of war is over, when people will again prefer butter to guns, the human family will have to be fed. Quite recently the American Secretary for Agriculture has stated that never in human history has there been enough food for all the people. It will be a long and a formidable task to go a substantial distance towards reaching our objective, but in the meantime not all the omens are unpropitious. It is worth while setting out where we stand in relation to the supply of food to our neighbour. Here are the percentages of Great Britain's imports supplied by us in 1937:—

	per cent.		per cent.
Beef and Veal	8	Eggs	7·9
Mutton and Lamb	1·3	Butter	3·4
Bacon and Hams	6·9	Poultry	20·0
Cheese		Negligible	

There is one point worth considering with regard to the past, as possibly affecting the future. It is not yet a hundred years since in the United States colonists, moving westward from the timbered regions of the East, paused on the edge of the unfamiliar prairies, with their rank vegetation of flowers and prairie grass. Since then the agriculture of Europe has been influenced by the cheap produce arising from the exploitation of the accumulated fertility of these lands. The movement spread further west to the semi-arid lands with the resultant creation of the "dust-bowl." While speculation is dangerous, there does not seem to be available for settlement new lands so fertile and so easily exploited. While in the future, following a great war, there will in all probability be times of great difficulty, still the only sound reason for pessimism would be an acceptance of the view that we could not produce at a price

which would win the market. In my view, with our very favourable climate, there are no grounds for pessimism in this respect.

We have two alternatives: to continue as we are, with the same low and therefore costly production, the same unemployment or under-employment, the same sinking population, the same low national income and the same high emigration; or to bend our energies towards increased production, cheaper production, an increase in population, a higher national income, and a higher standard of life. If we adopt this second alternative, we may fail through world convulsions; but we shall at least have deserved to succeed.

In considering the effect on employment and population of an intensification of agricultural production, it is a cardinal error to expect a great increase of employment on the land itself. Economic history shows that, as economic development proceeds, the percentage of the population directly employed on the land diminishes—though at the same time the absolute number so employed may increase. The history of Denmark is interesting in this respect. The population increase since 1860 and the percentage employed in agriculture, etc., are given in the following tables:—

1860	1,608,000	1911	2,757,000
1870	1,785,000	1916	2,922,000
1880	1,969,000	1921	3,268,000
1890	2,172,000	1925	3,435,000
1901	2,450,000	1930	3,551,000
1906	2,589,000		

Percentage of population employed in Agriculture, Fishing and Shipping with their dependents:—

	Agriculture	*Fishing and Shipping*
1860	53.3	2.8
1870	52.3	2.6
1880	51.1	2.7
1890	45.9	2.7
1901	41.4	3.0
1901		37.7
1911		35.7
1921		32.4

(Since 1901, Agriculture includes Horticulture, Forestry and Fisheries, but not domestic servants on farms).

In 1880 the percentage deriving a livelihood directly from the land was much the same as in this country to-day; but while by 1930 the total population had increased by about 80 per cent., the increase on the land

was negligible. Denmark, on a very nearly free trade basis, had built up an industry which manufactured about 80 per cent. of domestic requirements, and its growth of population increased with its agricultural output. Its history surely has a moral for this country.

I think I have made abundantly clear the vital importance of greater agricultural production in providing greater opportunity for the non-agricultural population. How will it affect the farmer himself? For a number of decades agricultural prices, in comparison with industrial prices, have been unfavourable, and in this country the statement that farmers have not in recent times received a fair share of the national income is not open to argument. At present some economists of note make the prophecy that we are approaching a period when the price of agricultural commodities will be relatively more favourable. It is to be hoped that this view is well founded; for, of course, the farmer is going to be no better off if the whole margin by which he cuts his costs of production is going to be offset by lower prices or higher burdens.

Full exploitation of the possibilities of our land and our climate involves, as I have endeavoured to point out, a great export trade. It is an illusion to think that a great export trade can be built up except on the basis of low production costs and prices which will win the market. But the converse is also true, that the only way to effect low costs of production is by high production per man and per acre, which production must have an export outlet. It is hardly necessary to labour this point, but one illustration may be of interest. In Mr. Murphy's survey of 1937-38, after allowing for interest at 4 per cent. on capital, there was available some £7,000 odd wherewith to reward family labour. The conditions bear a substantial similarity to those in New Zealand. Now, if the standard of production were raised to the New Zealand average, the figure available for family labour, at the same price level and allowing liberally for the extra costs involved, would have been £35,000. I do not think there is anybody who knows the facts who would deny that it is possible to reach the New Zealand level.

Does all this imply an indictment of our farmers? I should be very sorry to convey such an impression. The tenacity with which they have held on to their land during the trials of centuries is sufficient answer to any criticism of their powers of endurance and adjustment. But more is needed to-day if we are to proceed towards the objective I have set out. Much of the technical developments which may revolutionise agriculture to our advantage have taken place in the last twenty years. Can anybody say that the educational opportunities for future generations of farmers are suitable or adequate for the tasks ahead? Let anybody who readily criticises our farmers and their lack of the modern scientific knowledge which must be the basis of the future farming, ask himself the question: "What are the opportunities to the present or future farmer of acquiring

that knowledge?" The same critic may develop some humility if he examines the number of things the farmer does know and the skill in the arts of husbandry which he has acquired by observation and experience. There is a facile type of criticism that the farmer is over conservative—that he will not readily adopt new ideas. It is easy to disprove this from many examples in the history of our agriculture. The farmer is quick to seize on any new idea or adopt any new practice which offers him an opportunity of financial betterment. The urban population have, in the present crisis, good reason to be grateful for his power of adjustment in the production, over wide areas and under great difficulties, of unfamiliar crops. The farmer may be forgiven if he is somewhat cynical of new nostrums for his betterment. In too few cases is he in a position where he can afford to risk much in experiments. The new technique and its bearing on the whole economy of the farm must be demonstrated to him. For that purpose I think the Test Demonstration Farms of the Tenessee Valley Authority in the U.S.A. are well worthy of study here.

When the farmer is convinced of the soundness of the new technique, the question arises of the provision of capital to enable him to adopt it himself. I want to make quite clear my conviction that, if agriculture in this country is to be put on a modern basis, enormous quantities of new capital will have to be put into it for housing, drainage, equipment, fertilisers, etc. Prof. Johnston has estimated the capital—apart from land and dwelling houses—employed in our agriculture as about £233,000,000, of which £75,000,000 is in farm buildings. The figure would correspond to about £20 per acre. The corresponding figure in Denmark is about £30 per acre; so that to modernise our farming will involve new capital which can be put, as an absolute minimum, at £100,000,000. In my view, if anything like the objective proposed is to be reached, the figure will be far higher.

Very formidable problems are involved in the extension of agricultural production, the solution of which requires courage, energy and above all a sympathetic understanding of the problems of the farmer. But let me be quite emphatic on one point. The object is to increase the national income so that there should be better conditions for more people. That will never be achieved until the farmer is convinced that he is going to get a fair slice of the national cake now and in the future.

HENRY KENNEDY

AQUINAS VERSUS MARX

BY PROFESSOR ALFRED O'RAHILLY

PART III: ARISTOTLE AND AQUINAS *

THE two preceding articles embody an attempt to clarify and to rejuvenate what may fairly be called the Scholastic theory of value, which is generally expounded as a confused amalgam of two discrepant ideas. On the one hand we have texts such as this :—

> If the price exceeds the value of a commodity or *vice versa*, the equality of justice will be destroyed. Hence it is intrinsically unjust and unlawful to sell a thing at a higher price, or to buy it at a lower price, than it is worth.—S. Thomas, *Summa*, 2.2, q. 77, a. 1.

Interpreted incautiously without reference to other texts, this may seem to suggest that the just price is something intrinsic and inherent in a commodity like Marx's congealed labour-time. Such an interpretation is seen to be incorrect by looking at the neighbouring articles of the *Summa* (a. 4, ad 1 and ad 2), in which St. Thomas gives as grounds for selling at more than the cost price : improvements effected in the commodity, its transport, risk incurred. Any such increase in the price or value is, he says, *præmium laboris* or *stipendium laboris ;* not, be it observed, labour but the reward or stipend of labour. And by generalisation we infer that values are those exchange-ratios which provide people with just incomes.

St. Thomas also makes statements like this :—

> The one element which measures all things objectively is need (*indigentia*), which applies to all exchangeable commodities inasmuch as they are all related to human needs. . . . Prices are placed on commodities according as men need them for their use.—St. Thomas, *Comm. in Ethica* v. 9 : *Opera* (Parma), 21. 172*b*.

It is usual[1] to see in this emphasis on need a utility theory of value in contradiction with the so-called labour-cost theory attributed to Aquinas on the strength of other passages already referred to. This is a misinterpretation. St. Thomas is merely reproducing a thought of St. Augustine,[2] that value is measured by need rather than by intrinsic worth, *e.g.*, a horse is worth more than a slave, a pearl than a mouse. This is only saying that valuability—if I may coin the word—is based on utilisability, on the fact that things are utilisable for human purposes, not on

---

* For Parts I and II see the issues for September and December 1942.

[1] For example, H. Garnier, *De l' idée du juste prix chez les théologiens et canonistes du moyen âge*, 1900, p. 53.

[2] *De Civitate Dei* xi. 16 : Migne, PL 41. 331.

any other irrelevant ontological properties. A weed may, from the standpoint of botany or of evolution, be higher than a cereal; but it has a negative value. Also economic goods are not only useful but scarce, and so they have to be rationed. The common property of being needed does not solve the problem of distribution; use-value is the presupposition, not the determinant, of exchange-value. St. Thomas is merely saying that what is common to all commodities is their capacity to satisfy human needs. He is really reproducing a dictum of Aristotle[1]: "All commodities must be measured by some one thing, which in reality is need," for there would be no exchange without mutual need. And he has a curious statement to the effect that this common element of need is represented or practically measured by money:—

> Money serves as a measure which makes things commensurable. . . . Though it is impossible for different commodities to become really commensurable, as regards need [as a practical common measure] it is sufficiently possible.—*Eth. Nic.* v. 14, 1133 *b* 19.

Aristotle, the first to introduce the ideas of geometry into economics, thus started the fateful notion of money as a measure, though he was careful to point out that commodities such as shoes and corn are really incommensurable and heterogeneous except that they satisfy wants (different wants). This is the same train of thought as that of Marx, who argued that because I can equate two commodities in exchange (even without money), they must have something in common; and this common property he holds to be the fact that they are products of labour. This is the same type of analysis as reduces biology and psychology to mechanics and chemistry: I can choose between heterogeneous things, between things ministering to different wants in an organic system of needs, only because one of them contains more of something (the same thing) than the other. Exactly the kind of quantification which we find in utilitarianism. It is unnecessary here to argue against this view on general psychological grounds. But it may be pointed out how such a view quietly deletes ethics from economic relationships. For on the Marxian theory commodities really exchange themselves in proportion to their alleged intrinsic value; it is the products which conduct the business. In reality exchange is a human act, the transfer of rights, working within an ethico-legal system; we cannot foist our obligations on to "the market" as an impersonal statistical scapegoat.

> It is . . . the characteristic feature of any market economy that it evades the necessity for any *conscious and deliberate* review of the problem of allocating resources between competing uses in a social group; and that instead it allows the social

---

[1] *Eth. Nic.* v. 5, 1133*a* 25. Rackham translates need (*chreia*) by "demand," which (with its connotation of purchasing power) is a very unsuitable term. St. Thomas says that this one thing measuring exchangeable goods is *quod dicimus opus sive indigentiam.* Did he write *opem* (need) for *opus* (work)? "Some people," he says, "call it use or utility."

pattern to emerge as the result of the market's responses to millions of uncoordinated stimuli arising from the demands of individuals.—Barbara Wootton, *Lament for Economics*, 1938, p. 212.

Is money really a measure of anything? Certainly not in exchange. Even a single price offer in any individual schedule—say 2s. for 1 lb. of butter—is not a quantity at all, it is a ratio, so much money for so much commodity. An individual's price offer for a commodity (his maximum price of taking it) reports a choice between marginal alternatives, equality *for him* between two competing wants (the commodity and the ranking alternative). It does not measure the so-called marginal utility of the good for which the price is offered; for this would be a quantity, not a ratio.[1] The idea that the market price measures both the marginal utility on the side of demand and the marginal real cost on the side of supply is a fiction which not only ignores the essentially ratio character of prices but assumes the inter-individual comparability of wants and desires as subjective phenomena. The modern subjective approach can never lead to an acceptable principle of distribution.

We usually express prices as so much money per unit of commodity: butter costs 2s. per lb., eggs are 3s. a dozen, boots 25s. a pair, and so on. But from the purchaser's standpoint it would be clearer to say that a shilling can buy ½ lb. butter, 4 eggs, 1/25 of a pair of boots, etc. For the relevant quantum is the individual's total purchasing power, so many shillings to be spent on the best combination of commodities or services procurable for that amount. Thus the primary object of money is the allocation of incomes; the price system governs the use of incomes. The primacy of personal purchasing power over monetary pricing is clearly illustrated by the British points rationing scheme introduced in 1941. Points-coupons can be spent on different things at different shops; but the monetary demand is couponised, *i.e.*, reduced to effective equality for the various categories of necessaries—*e.g.*, fats, soap, meat—and the prior claims of certain classes (*e.g.*, children). The coupons do not create scarcity of butter or tea, they merely secure fairness of distribution; they supersede the price-system as regards the allocation of necessaries; money-power is eliminated by points-power. There is no reason why this great innovation should operate only in time of scarcity.[2] Its theoretical interest lies in the fact that it recognises the primacy of claims to necessaries and the advantage of a new type of categorised money.

---

[1] Classical economists onesidedly concentrated on exchange-values and market-prices. "Consumption or value-in-use is said to be the end of production. Yet after this initial statement the studies of production, exchange and distribution which comprise most of the work, all rest on the assumption that value is power of exchange, is a matter of ratio and not of absolute amounts available for consumption."—Peck, *Economic Thought and its Institutional Background*, 1935, p. 126.

[2] "Why not secure an equality of distribution of butter in peacetime by issuing coupons and selling butter against coupons at a very low cost, covering the loss by selling the remainder at exorbitant prices?"—*Economist*, 30 May 1942, p. 744.

The fundamental portion of each person's income is calculated in points instead of in prices ; and the quantum of point-totals is per person.

Even from the few quotations already given[1] it is quite clear that such provision for people's primary requirements is entirely consonant with Scholastic principles. But obviously it is incomplete ; it concerns only basic needs, part of people's incomes. The general view, inclusive of the above, has already been called the functional theory of exchange-values. As it was first clearly enunciated in connection with a passage of Aristotle already referrred to,[2] it is worth while to quote Albert and Thomas more fully :—

> If the maker of beds did not receive for a bed as much as it cost in expenses, he would not continue making beds ; and thus the trade of bed-making would be ruined. Similarly for other trades. . . . A multitude of trades mutually serving one another is necessary for the permanency of the State.—Albertus, *Ethica* v. 2, 7 and 9.

> For a just exchange it is necessary that as many shoes be given for one house or for the food of one man as the builder or the farmer exceeds the shoemaker in labour and in expenses. If this is not observed, there will not be a true exchange nor will men share their goods with one another. What has been said—namely that several shoes should be given for one house—cannot be unless in some sense the shoes are equal to the house.—Thomas, *Ethica* v. 9 : *Opera* (Parma) 21. 172*a*.

Otherwise, as St. Thomas says following Albert, *destruerentur artes*, the trades or guilds could not continue. " If a farmer," says Aquinas (*ibid.* v. 8), " were to give a bushel of wheat for a shoe, he would suffer excess in work and in loss." It is thus clear that the equality—in some sense (*aliqualiter*)—of so many shoes to a house does not imply qualitative identity of work or some quasi-physical common element in the products, but only the cost of functional livelihood.[3] The same idea occurs elsewhere when Thomas,[4] following Aristotle, distinguishes between the proper and the common use of a pair of shoes. A shoe is for shodding (wearing) when a man makes it for himself. A shoe made by a shoemaker is for exchange or sale ; he makes it not to be worn by himself but to be exchanged for other things he requires ; the shoe is used by somebody else. It is rather unexpected to find St. Thomas explaining exchange-value by means of *wares*, products which the producer makes not for his own use but for sale. Though living in what was still largely a world of self-contained families, he was sufficiently acquainted with the trade-guilds and merchants of his time ; he thus enunciated a view most appropriate to the specialised production and money-economy of to-day. Many

---

[1] *Studies*, Sept. 1942, p. 319.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 320.

[3] Prices are the means not only of rationing what is produced but also of deciding what is to be produced. Income is not only a reward for service but a method for securing that service.

[4] *Pol*, i. 7 : *Opera* (Parma) 21. 387*b*.

of his successors however—probably theologians ignorant of commercial life—perverted his views into discussions about the exchange of commodities, either not wares at all—*e.g.*, unique or unreproducible objects—or else wares considered as individual bearers of use-value without any reference to the social conditions of their production. Hence the lamentable confusion of many subsequent moral theologians.

On *this* point, curiously enough, there is no difference between St. Thomas and contemporary Communism. Lenin's ideal was this :—

> *All* citizens are here transformed into hired employees of the State, which is made up of the armed workers. *All* citizens become employees and workers of *one* State syndicate. All that is required is that they should work equally, should regularly do their share of work, and should receive equal pay.—Burns, *Handbook of Marxism*, 1936, p. 757.

"Once a national ideal," says Eugene Lyons,[1] "the theory of equal earnings has now become one of the major heresies."

> The entire front pages of the Press [on 5 July 1931] were given over to a speech made by Stalin about two weeks before. He asked bluntly for a return to methods of individual management, personal responsibilities, and cash incentives—to the old-fashioned commonplaces of capitalistic forms—in the interests of the Five Year Plan. Specifically he demanded a revision of the wage-scale throughout Soviet industry and agriculture to encourage and compensate the better, more skilled and more industrious workers. The notion of equality of earnings for all grades of labour he ridiculed as mercilessly as would any Rotary Club speaker at home.—Lyons, *Modern Moscow*, p. 161.

> Every Leninist knows that the levelling of needs and tastes is an absurdity fit only for the *petit bourgeois* or some primitive sect, not for society organised on Marxist lines. . . . Marxism is based on the principle that the needs of individuals are not and cannot be the same in every case, either in quantity or quality.—Stalin, in *Izvestia* 27 January, 1934; cited in Iswolsky, *Soviet Man Now*, 1936, p. 14.

We are not here concerned with the system of labour-passports, with speeding-up by piece-work, with the new version of Taylorism known as Stakhanovism, and so on. The plain fact is that abolition of differentiation in Russia had the disastrous effect of decreasing the number of professional and skilled workers. So, by a process of "dialectic," equality was abolished and functional discrimination of income was introduced. *Aliter destruerenter artes*, as Albert and Thomas observed.[2]

IV : The Just Wage

Let me now compare my version of the Scholastic theory with that given by Mgr. J. A. Ryan in his *Distributive Justice* (1935[2]) :—

> We find the medieval writers seeking a standard of *objective* value which should attach to the commodity itself, not to the varying opinions of buyers and sellers.

[1] *Modern Moscow*, p. 139.

[2] The only alternative to inducement by functional remuneration is compulsory assignment of people to specific work by State ukase. However much we may dislike the principle of inequality—apart from many existing unjustified discriminations and the

. . . Contrary to the assumptions of some modern writers, the Schoolmen never said that value was something as fixedly inherent in goods as physical and chemical qualities. . . . Objective value and just price would be ascertained practically through the judgment of upright and competent men or preferably through legally fixed prices. . . . Now cost of production in the Middle Ages was mainly labour cost. . . . How was labour cost to be evaluated and the different kinds of labour evaluated? By the necessary and customary expenditures of the class to which the labourer belonged.—Ryan, p. 295.

Roughly this coincides with my interpretation; but there are some ambiguities. I do not admit that the "objectivity" of exchange-value of the best medieval writers was attached to the commodity itself. How indeed could the *ratios* in which commodities were exchanged be attached to them? The objectivity is social, not physical; values are morally required ratios in which human exchanges are to be effected, not inherent properties of physical goods. These valuations are not of course mathematically ascertainable, they must be found by empirical judgment. Fixation of prices by the State or by the market—in the medieval market modern practices such as forestalling and regrating were prohibited—was merely a practicable expedient. So far Dr. Ryan and I are in agreement. But I must deny that St. Thomas held a labour-cost theory in the sense of the following objection:—

Class needs are not and cannot be a standard of exchange-equivalence. They cannot become a criterion of equality, a common denominator, a third term of comparison between labour and wages. . . . We are introducing a fourth term of comparison, namely, the moral worth or personal dignity of the labourer . . . There exists no third term or standard or objective fact which will inform men whether any rate of wages is the equivalent of any quantity of labour.—Ryan, pp, 297, 301.

Mgr. Ryan is right in complaining (p. 298) that, "in spite of its fundamental impossibility, the concept of exchange-equivalence still haunts the minds of certain Catholic writers." But I think he is wrong in attributing any such view to St. Thomas. I agree in rejecting the modern productivity theories which seek to equate labour-product and wages, even if the product of a worker could be isolated from the output of an organically working machine-enterprise.[1] St. Thomas says metaphorically that so many shoes and one house are *aliqualiter æqualia;* but he justifies the phrase by explaining that a builder and a shoemaker are both

absence of a secured minimum—it is at least the price of liberty. According to Bernard Shaw "Socialism means equality of income and nothing else."—*The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*, 1929, p. 94. But this airy theoreticism need disturb no one, for example, in receipt of fat royalties. For "should you become a convert to Socialism, you will not be committed to any change in your private life" (p. 99).

[1] But my objection is the fundamental incomparability of "products." Wages, before being spent, are merely an abstract or generalised claim to an indeterminate portion of the total of vendible goods and services; when spent, they are concretised into food, clothes, shelter, etc. There is no physical or intrinsic relationship between this quantum and the bricks laid, the bolts riveted, the bales carted, etc., by the worker. Only allocation to persons, whether owners or workers, can give us a principle of distribution.

entitled to a decent functional livelihood. He would doubtless admit that a certain measure of wheat was " equivalent " to a pair of boots, but only in the sense that these and other prevailing prices enabled farmers and shoemakers to lead human lives and to serve the community. Any further attempt to make equivalence inhere in commodities, or to invent a quasi-physical equality between human services, is merely misplaced materialism.

As to Mgr. Ryan's objection concerning the moral worth or personal dignity of the labourer, he has himself answered it in his well-known advocacy of a minimum wage :—

> Human needs constitute the primary title or claim to material goods. . . . Needs are not merely a physical reason or impulse towards acquisition and possession, but a moral title which rationalises the claim to a certain amount of goods. . . . Every worker has a right to at least a *decent* livelihood. . . . Those who are in control of the resources of the community are morally bound to give such a labourer a living wage. . . . Not the economic but the ethical value of the service rendered is the proper determinant of justice in the matter of wages ; and this ethical value is always the equivalent of at least a decent livelihood for the labourer and his family. —Ryan, pp. 316f, 319, 321, 332.

He rightly points out (p. 328) that " the habit of looking at the wage contract as a matter of commutative justice (in the strict sense of contractual justice) is radically defective." Assuming the contract to be really free—a condition nor always fulfilled between such unequal bargainers—the employer is bound to pay the agreed wage in virtue of commutative or contractual justice. This is a relation arising immediately out of the things (work and money) exchanged ; just like borrowing and repayment of a loan. But the employer is more than the receiver of something, he is a distributor of the common heritage of nature. The employer and the employees are co-functionaries on behalf of the community ; those who control the concern are bound by *distributive* justice to make a fair division.[1] The employer is also, in relation to the State and to the industry, to work for the common good ; he is obliged by *social* justice to see that those engaged in serving the community have an income corresponding not only to their status as human beings (fathers of families) but also to their functional efficiency.

All this is of course excellently advocated by Mgr. Ryan. But he does not appear to see that this personalist theory of the proper distribution of income has consequences for the view we take of exchange-values or prices. Strictly speaking, the complicated series of exchange-ratios we know as the price-system is an impersonal abstraction ; it is only when it leads to actual transactions and when it is judged with reference to people's

[1] " The proportional family-wage is due in strict distributive justice to the worker who is father of a family. He ought to receive from the industrial process the goods which are necessary for him proportionately to his charges and to the place he occupies in society."—A. J. Faidherbe O.P., *La Justice sociale*, 1934, p. 164.

incomes that we can pass judgment upon it. A carpenter charges £1 for a chair, a dentist extracts a tooth for 5s. Are these fair charges, is there " equivalence "? On the view here defended, there can be no answer to such a question; in fact it is declared to have no meaning. We must know what, under such a system of prices, is the income of an average carpenter and of an average dentist and what these incomes are relatively to those of other functioning members of the community. No one pretends, of course, to have a mathematical answer. In fact the whole point is that there is no handy formula, no mechanical answer; that the personalist and social criterion is inescapable. Prices of individual commodities and services are only means; income is ultimate. Hence strictly, while we can speak of the price of this or that, we cannot speak of the price of labour.[1] This would be to regard labour as a commodity, as something to be bought out of someone's purchasing power just as one might buy a piece of furniture. But labour *is* the labourer; his service is not bought, it is remunerated; he receives income, a quantum of purchasing power, a total of " points " inside which he is enabled to select and to give final destination to the goods and the services provided by others. Prices are the points allocated to commodities so as to ensure that everyone has a fair point-total. They are means; whereas income (and therefore wages) is the end.

To a large extent Mgr. Ryan explicitly holds all this; and logically I think he is committed to it. But through some misconceptions he appears to jib at what he calls " the canonist doctrine of wage justice," to which he makes this further objection :—

> It is not a universally valid criterion of justice in the matter of wages; for it makes no provision for those labourers who deserve a wage in excess of the cost of living of their class; nor does it furnish a principle by which a whole class of workers can justify their advance to a higher standard of living—Ryan, p. 298.

He is alluding to what one may call the customary stratification of medieval society. This was by no means as execrable as the Victorians taught, and many social reformers advocate a restoration of some of its features.

> The attempt to preserve a rough equality among " the good men of the mistery," to check economic egotism by insisting that every brother shall share his good fortune with another and stand by his neighbour in need, to resist the encroachments of a conscienceless money-power, to preserve professional standards of training and craftsmanship, and to repress by a strict corporate discipline the natural appetite of each to snatch special advantages for himself to the injury of all—whether these things outweigh the evils of conservative methods and corporate exclusiveness is a question which each student will answer in accordance with his own predilections.—Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, 1926, p. 27.

These issues are, however, irrelevant to the principle here ascribed

[1] The individual employer, of course, regards wages as a cost on a par with that of raw materials. That is because he declines social responsibility and feels free to scrap workers and to throw on the community the onus of supporting them.

to St. Thomas. It is for society to decide which form of functional efficiency—corporative or individually competitive—it finds best in each individual case. Static or inelastic stabilisation is not a necessary consequence of the functional view of prices and wages. On the contrary, if we—the inheritors of an evil phase of capitalist maldistribution and the possessors of the capacities of applied science—do seriously adopt this functional view, we shall be led to emphasise the rights of the workers and to control functionless forms of income. As Lord Keynes has said :—

> We stand midway between two theories of economic society. The one theory maintains that wages should be fixed by reference to what is " fair " and " reasonable " as between classes. The other theory—the theory of the economic Juggernaut—is that wages should be settled by economic pressure, otherwise called " hard facts," and that our vast machine should crash along, with regard only to its equilibrium as a whole and without attention to the chance consequences of the journey to individual groups.—Keynes, *Essays*, 1931, p. 261.

This theory of class-fairness, I take it, is the medieval social ideal behind prices and wages, once we prune it of excrescences and ignore much of the later individualist theological discussions which laid an unhealthy overemphasis on merely commutative justice. And to a certain extent moral and religious pressure was exerted to reduce the ideal to practice.

> On the whole and so far as possible efforts were made to secure that the labourers' standard of life should be provided for and that the prices at which wares were sold should be adapted to this as a first charge. The standard of life was the dominating influence in the determination of the prices of wares.—W. Cunningham, *Christianity and Economic Science*, 1914, p. 43.

Doubtless the problem is much more complex today. But it would make an enormous difference if the dominant and accepted outlook of society were that here attributed to St. Thomas. Prices would no longer be regarded as an inhuman mechanism imposed on us by physical or statistical laws ; their regulation—including control of the exchange-rate which dominates the prices of exporting producers—and their stabilisation would be recognised as a social duty. The employer in a modern enterprise would not be bound to his employees by nothing but a cash-nexus ; the wage would be more than a cost, it would be a share ; the strictly commutative contract would pass over into a structural distribution of tasks and benefits based on natural and functional rights.

> The product is in a fundamental sense the common property of employer and employees. Both parties have co-operated in turning it out, and they have equal claims upon it in so far as it is necessary to yield them a decent livelihood.—Ryan, p. 325.

ALFRED O'RAHILLY

MOTHER ALPHONSA

Rose Hawthorne Lathrop 1851–1926

BY CHARLOTTE M. KELLY

ALMOST half a century has passed since Rose Hawthorne Lathrop left the literary salons of New York and the society of writers and thinkers for a tumbledown tenement on the Lower East Side and a life devoted to the care of the cancerous poor. She began her work unaided in three tiny rooms; today that same work is carried on in large modern buildings by the Dominican Congregation of St. Rose of Lima which she founded, and thousands who have never heard of Nathaniel Hawthorne have had cause to bless the name of his younger daughter.

Until she voluntarily relinquished it, Rose Hawthorne had always lived in an atmosphere of intellect and refinement. Much of her childhood was spent in Concord, that New England village described as "a democracy of genius," where Wordsworth's "plain living and high thinking" were ideally combined. This was the home of Emerson, of Longfellow, of Thoreau, and of that erratic genius, Bronson Alcott, and his famous daughter, Louisa. Rose, the youngest of Hawthorne's three children, was born at Lenox in the Massachusetts mountains; but within the year Hawthorne brought his family back to Concord, where he had lived just after his marriage in the house that gave its name to "Mosses from an Old Manse." Now he bought the Alcott home, and the Alcotts went to live next door. On the other side of the Hawthornes was Mr. Bull, perfecting what was to become known as the Concord Grape. Further away stood Emerson's white pillared mansion. Rose's first recollections were of the square brown house, built before 1700 and facing the Lexington highway. Behind was the wooded hillside where she used to watch her father take his solitary walks.

When Rose was three, Hawthorne was appointed Consul at Liverpool and the family came to England. In the six years that they spent out of the States what made most impression on them all was their visit to Rome. Well armoured as were Nathaniel and his wife in their New England Puritanism, the art of Italy did much to lessen their prejudices against Catholicism. Both were more moved than they cared to admit by the glories of the Eternal City. It was with unconscious yearning that Sophia Hawthorne exclaimed on her first sight of Pius IX: "How much more impressive it would have been could one have believed him saint and virtually head of the Church." Deeply religious by nature she had said of the English cathedrals: "Something is wrong. The churches

are so beautiful, but the English Church seems to me cold and timid. No wonder some strong souls with warm hearts and the fire of genius in them should go back to Romanism from its icy presence." And Hawthorne wrote of Rome: "The desolation of its ruins does not prevent it from being more intimately our home than even the spot where we were born," a significant admission for a New Englander in the middle of the last century.

Their mother's ardent love of beauty ensured that the children missed none of the treasures of Rome. They visited St. Peter's on several occasions. "The heart of Rome is St. Peter's and its pulse is the Pope," Sophia was to write. But the memory that remained with Rose was not of the pomp and pageantry of the pontifical procession, but of a tall figure in white walking in the Vatican Gardens who laid a kindly hand on the head of the little American girl as he gave her his blessing.

Though there was much in Italian life that did not attract her—she used to declare in later years, with characteristic humour, that if the tastelessness of the highly-coloured Lenten cakes had not convinced her that the Italians lacked "mental grace and salvation" she would have been interested much earlier in Catholicism—there is no doubt that then were sown the seeds of faith that were to blossom so beautifully in the future.

There were many American and English writers and artists in Rome at this time, and the Hawthornes were welcomed everywhere. The Brownings visited them and later in Florence, Rose, awed but enchanted, was taken to see Mrs. Browning—"pale and ill but as always dynamic." But the child's happiest hours were spent with her father on Sunday afternoons when they climbed the Pincian Hill together and saw against a sunset sky what Hawthorne described, in *The Marble Faun*, as "the grandest edifice ever built by man painted against man's loveliest sky." The bond between father and daughter was very strong and his influence on her life, as she acknowledged, was incalculable. Already she sensed dimly his passionate resentment of the injustices and sufferings of the world and, child though she was, shared his pain at the misery and disease of some of the poor they saw about them—pain that he was to put into the book he was then planning.

Back in Concord in 1860 they resumed the simple home life, the quality of which was becoming more apparent to Rose every day. The married life of Hawthorne and his wife has been compared to that of the Brownings. Begun on a high poetic plane their happiness increased with the years, giving to the home a radiance which their children never forgot. The responsibility which both felt towards their less fortunate neighbours was translated into practical terms. Rose had her first lesson in charity in visiting an old woman who read to her from the Bible and fed her with mince pie of dubious contents. Objections were answered by

Sophia Hawthorne: "It is not what you want to do for the sick poor but what they want to do or have you do that matters. And you must never make them feel that there is anything distressing to you in their appearance or actions." Who shall say that the lesson was not well learnt? Mother Alphonsa must often have pondered over those words. "Home duties are not so necessary or loving as duty towards the homeless," Hawthorne used to say, and he taught his children to do without luxuries by giving all extra money to charity. "Having money to give away must be a foretaste of Heaven," exclaimed Sophia one Christmas.

The year following their return from Europe saw the outbreak of the Civil War. Before it had ended, Hawthorne was dead and it had undoubtedly helped to kill him. Both to the man and the writer those last years were full of anxieties. His faith in the unassailable peace and prosperity of the American people was shaken; he could not satisfy himself, as did his friends, that the liberation of the slaves would solve all their problems and he would have had the North fight for their own slave States and leave the South alone. He missed Thoreau, his great friend, who had died in 1862; missed too those leisurely discussions on art and philosophy carried on in an atmosphere of pleasant tolerance which the dissensions of war brought to an end. His finances were in a bad state—he had spent a great deal of money on the Concord house—and he was finding it increasingly difficult to write. He was "failing," in the popular phrase, and an expedition in search of health ended the first day at New Plymouth where he died on 18 May, 1864.

To Rose his death was the first great shock of her life. She had lost her idol, her dearest companion, her earliest playmate. Sophia Hawthorne could say: "My king is gone and the cottage is no longer a palace, but I have an eternity, thank God, to know him, or I should die of despair." But Rose's impatient spirit would not let her accept her loss with resignation and she suffered intensely for a time. When she was fifteen Mrs. Hawthorne took the children to Europe once more, to complete their education, and they settled in Dresden. They liked the old world atmosphere, the informal life, the open-air concerts, the *pension* with its students, amongst whom were George and Francis Lathrop, sons of Dr. Lathrop of New York. A warm friendship sprung up between the young Americans, which was continued in London when the Franco-Prussian War drove them from Germany.

It was in London that Una Hawthorne, looking at a wretched child in a slum street, declared: "Some day I am going to clean up children like that." But the fastidious younger sister shivered as she answered: "Let other people do it." Just as after Hawthorne's death when her mother told her of his befriending, despite his natural repulsion, an uncouth and diseased man, Rose had said: "How could he? And why did he anyway? There are plenty of people who wouldn't have minded

doing it, and he did." Well might Julian Hawthorne write in the years to come when his sister was living in close and hourly contact with the most dreaded of all diseases: "Rose was extremely sensitive to all the deterrent things of life. Ugliness, dirt, disharmony revolted her and she averted herself from them with a hearty disgust."

In 1871 Sophia Hawthorne died in London. Julian had returned to New York some time before and wrote to his sisters to come home. But Una had never forgotten that London slum child and she remained to work in a Church of England Settlement, while Rose returned to the States as the wife of George Lathrop whom she married in Chelsea in that same year. Both were little over twenty and deeply in love.

The young Lathrops were popular with the literary coterie in New York, who welcomed Rose not only as her father's daughter but for her personal charm, vivacity and wit. The attractive child had become a beautiful woman, whose golden hair and delicate colouring inspired a young poet to compare her to "a peach blossom in the sun." In spite of temperamental clashes, she and George were very happy those first years. Both began to write—articles, short stories, book reviews. Some years after their marriage George became associate editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* and they moved to Boston. In 1876 a son was born whom Rose, perhaps with the memory of those early days in Rome, had baptized in a Catholic Church. The following year her husband was made editor of the *Boston Courier*, and in 1879 they went back to Concord where the Hawthorne home had fallen vacant. The village had changed since Rose's childhood, but there were still Alcotts and Emersons and Longfellows to greet her. Two quiet years went by, and then the five-year-old boy died after a tragically short illness.

Back in New York, where they had fled from the too poignant memories of Concord, husband and wife immersed themselves in their work. George was writing travel sketches for *Harpers*, and Rose "Memories of Hawthorne" for the *Atlantic Monthly*. They wrote poetry too, and in 1888 Rose published a book of verse with the title *Along the Shore* taken from one of George's poems.

It was at the house of the Watson Gilders, meeting-place for the writers and artists of New York in those years, that Rose first saw Emma Lazarus, a cultured Jewess, whose poem "The New Colossus" is engraved on the base of the Statue of Liberty. Her work for the betterment of her own race awakened in Rose the ambition, until then dormant, to help others; and Emma's death from cancer had a definite effect on Rose's future career.

The busy years passed. George was writing novels that were well received. He was literary editor on the *New York Times*. Julian Hawthorne had a similar post on the *New York World*, while Francis Lathrop was gaining a reputation as an artist. Rose and her husband lived between

New York and New London, always part of the literary life around them, entertaining and being entertained. In New London they became friendly with Alfred Chappell, who had just joined the Catholic Church. His obvious contentment aroused their interest and they had many conversations about Catholicism—conversations that to Rose recalled that faraway visit to Rome. When George had been editing the Riverside edition of his father-in-law's works, he had been much struck by the descriptions of Rome and had devoted some thought to the subject of the Catholic faith. Now he and Rose gave it serious consideration and in 1891, to the surprise of many of their friends, they were received into the Church by Fr. Alfred Young.

The scope of their work was broadened and, while George helped to establish a Catholic Summer School in New London, Rose gave talks to Catholic and non-Catholic groups. Together they wrote a history of the foundation of the Visitation Order in America, visiting the Convent at Georgetown and studying the Annals with their evidence of early struggles and difficulties.

But their life together was coming to an end. If Rose had not found in her marriage all that her parents' ideal union had led her to expect, she had nevertheless striven with all her heart to make it a success. But neither her patient efforts nor their mutual attachment could overcome her husband's inherent weakness and instability, and now after years of fresh starts and fair hopes she was obliged to leave him.

She faced her new life completely alone. The child that might have saved their happiness was dead; Julian was married; Una had died years before at her chosen work. Only her faith was left, and to that Rose clung. In the little Catholic Church at Concord, which a few years before had been the meeting-house, she prayed for light and guidance. And then quite simply the way began to open.

Through the sufferings of her dressmaker, a gentle refined woman who, falling ill with incurable cancer, ended her painful days in the hospital attached to the poor-house on Blackwell's Island and was buried in a pauper's grave, Rose learnt that in all New York there was no place where the poor or those who, like this woman, had spent all their money in trying to get cured could be well housed and nursed until they died. Their families were often incapable or unwilling to do so, and hospitals would not keep incurable cases. She made many inquiries; she visited the dreaded Island to return sickened and dismayed by what she saw there; she remembered the painful death of Emma Lazarus, surrounded though she was by all that love and wealth could give her; she thought of the words written years before by her father :—" Human beings owe a debt of love to one another, because there is no other method of paying the debt of love and care which all of us owe Providence. Providence put me here, I hope, among other things in order that I may make amends for

the inhospitality of my neighbours " ; and she vowed that she would spend her life in helping those whom no one else would help.

Her first act was to go to the New York Cancer Hospital for three months' practical training. And very practical it was. The professional nurse, watching closely, heard the novice draw a sharp breath and saw her shut her eyes at the sight of her first patient, a particularly unpleasant face case. But the next moment she was assisting, with steady if inexperienced fingers, at the dressing. Rose learnt much in those months besides the treatment of cancer. She learnt the patient submission, the stoic endurance, the unquenchable gaiety even of the sick poor. She learnt too the real horror of the disease ; but her resolution was unshaken, and from the hospital she went straight to the New York slums. There in a rackety tenement, with a stable on each side of her and another in front, she began her work in the autumn of 1894. At first her patients —and there was no lack of them—came to her for dressings and she visited them in their homes. Then one morning she got a letter from the woman whose face she had dressed that first day in the hospital. Sent away as incurable, she was asking for a home in which to die.

" My heart leaped with joy to think that my life of usefulness had begun in earnest as I stepped forth from the tumbledown tenement to bring my first patient to my hearthstone," wrote Rose years later, adding : " It was fortunate that I knew so little as to what I was attempting or how unreal joy is when we come to the heart of human concerns." That was the beginning. Henceforth she lived in intimate association with the cancerous poor, and what that involved even she herself did not wholly envisage at the outset or, as she admits, her courage might have failed. She was in course of years to move to better and more commodious quarters, but in essentials her life remained the same. She who on her brother's testimony had been " revolted by ugliness, dirt, disharmony " was surrounded by them. She was not less sensitive ; her feelings did not change, but she chose to ignore them. Beauty still had power to move her and in those first days, when as she said she was " stormtorn with dismay," the sun rising over Brooklyn Bridge or the serene light of the moon could soothe and quieten her overstrung nerves and energies. Years later she could remember and relate that the day she brought her first patient home was " a sublime early autumn morning, soft of atmosphere but roaring with a high sunny wind and richly blue and white with coursing clouds."

Her work had begun to attract a certain amount of public interest, and to a reporter sent to interview her from the *New York Times* she declared that her ambition was to help all, irrespective of creed or race, who were suffering from incurable cancer and had no money. Her motto was the words of St. Vincent de Paul, " I am for God and the poor," she told him ; and when he, trying to get an angle on this unusual

project, asked : " You are a Catholic, aren't you ? " she answered gravely ; " That is my one great asset for my work." Inevitably her actions were criticised by many of her friends, but her brother Julian championed her vigorously. " Let her alone. See how happy she is about it all. She has given up everything else and cast her cares on the Lord, and she feels a deeper satisfaction in this life she is leading than she ever did with the pleasant trifles of the world." He was right. Despite a life that a few months ago would have seemed unbearable, Rose was very happy. " Every day I am proving that impossibilities can be done, and every day God sends me a gift over and above other things as a reward for temerity ; sometimes a sun ray and sometimes a smile," she said at this time.

She had changed her rooms to others which, if equally unpretentious, were large enough to house six patients before she found her first helper. Alice Huber had come to New York to study art ; she remained to share those noisy days and no less noisy nights in the overcrowded rooms in Water Street. It was the incessant noise that both women found hardest to bear ; the crying of children, the shouts of drunken men, the clatter of carts over rough streets, all the restless turmoil of the slums. For several years they ran the tiny Home unaided—cooking, housekeeping, attending to the patients that lived in the house and visiting others in their homes. A hard unlovely life, and there must have been moments when it seemed impossible to go on. But from the start both the local doctors and the cancer specialists gave generous help. Dr. James J. Walsh, afterwards Superior of the Maryknoll Mission, was one of their earliest friends. Gradually donations came to swell Rose's small income, yet they were and remained for years miserably poor.

In 1898 Rose was summoned to her husband's deathbed and stayed with him until he died. Then work engulfed her once more, leaving little time to grieve over the past. In 1899 she and her companion became Dominican Tertiaries, Rose taking the name of Sister Mary Alphonsa and Miss Huber that of Sister Mary Rose. The two began community life, styling themselves " Servants for the Relief of Incurable Cancer." More helpers arrived, and financial aid increased in response to the letters and articles into which Hawthorne's daughter put all the literary charm that had won her success in the world. This letter-writing was a heavy task that ended only with her death. Another move, this time to a house on Cherry Street which they called St. Rose's Home in honour of the great Dominican Tertiary of South America, doubled their patients and their work. By now they numbered six in community and, in 1900, became the Dominican Congregation of St. Rose of Lima and were permitted to wear the white habit. The following year they got the chance of buying a big house at Sherman Park just vacated by the French Dominicans. It was a large windswept mansion in bad repair ; but it was in beautiful surroundings on the top of a hill overlooking the Hudson,

and Mother Alphonsa saw in it an ideal country home for her sick poor. The upkeep of such a place would be heavy; but, trusting in the Providence that had helped her over so many difficulties, she bought it.

That was in 1901. For the next quarter of a century the story of that house at Sherman Park is the story of Mother Alphonsa. Save for occasional brief absences she spent the rest of her life there, meeting and overcoming obstacles of every description. There were times when only a few dollars stood between her and bankruptcy, when donations came slowly or not at all, when it seemed that the public conscience would never be awakened to the urgent need for help. But one especial joy Mother Alphonsa had in the new house—the men's ward. It had been a source of sorrow to her that, for want of accommodation and the necessary helpers, she had had to refuse male patients. In the latter years at Cherry Street it had sometimes been possible, though never easy, to board out a male patient, and one of the unforgettable memories of this time is of the old Second Lieutenant whom Mother Alphonsa found dying in a garret. She got him a decent lodging and proper care and enabled him to pass his last days in comfort and—what meant almost more to him—in dignity.

In spite of many difficulties the work at St. Rose's Home and at Rosary Hill went on. Dr. Walsh had never relaxed his interest and frequently gave lectures in their aid, while friends, new and old, were generous with help. Mother Alphonsa and her Sisters gained valuable experience in the relief of their patients' sufferings, physical, mental and spiritual—this last an important part of their work. They never held out false hopes of recovery, but they learnt to ease the pain and discomfort to a very great degree; and they taught the dying to face death without fear. Nor was there ever a question of subjecting the patients to experimental operations or treatments—a policy which Mother Alphonsa lost no opportunity to condemn.

In 1904, the hundredth anniversary of Nathaniel Hawthorne's birth brought his daughter an invitation to take part in the celebrations at Concord. She had no time to re-enter even for a day that old life, but she did find time to write a striking picture of her father for the occasion. In 1909 she and Sister Mary Rose made their final vows. The latter was now in charge of St. Rose's Home, which in the following year was housed in a fine new building erected by donations. With the entrance of the United States into the Great War came new problems that lasted even after peace was declared. Food was dear, contributions fell off, and Mother Alphonsa was overworked and had a bad illness. But better times came, and in 1922 she set on foot a great appeal for a fireproof building on Rosary Hill to remove the ever-present danger of fire to the old building. She spent hours writing letters and articles, and donations poured in from every part of the country and were acknowledged person-

ally. With public interest centred on the Homes in an increasing degree, she was often called upon to speak of the motive that led her to undertake the work. To Maurice Egan of the *Sunday Times* she said ; " My first influence was my father's attitude towards moral and physical deformity and corruption. He consoled those who came to him in so far as this life holds consolation for enormous wrongs. My father's instructions harmonized with the melodious verities of God."

Bowdoin College, Hawthorne's Alma Mater, conferred upon her the Degree of M.A. in 1925 in honour of her father and of the work she was doing, and the following year she received the medal given by the Rotary Club for an outstanding accomplishment—in this case " in recognition of her Mercy and Valour and the free gift of a life of service to hopeless destitute sufferers."

Mother Alphonsa was over seventy-five now and, though she had never wholly recovered her physical strength after her illness, her mind was as active as ever. The comfort and happiness of her patients were always her first concern. She was planning a book on the practical care of incurable cancer, but she had a great belief in the power of sympathy and often spoke of those ancient times when the sick poor were called " Our Lord's " and were held in honour by holy men and women because they saw in them a reflection of Our Lord's sufferings. " Hundreds of years ago ladies used to visit the sick as part of their duty as Christians and this personal contact was excellent for both sides," she said once to Dr. Walsh. When her work was yet in its infancy, she had written in an article for the press : " I am trying to serve the poor as a servant. I wish to serve the cancerous poor because they are avoided more than any other class of sufferers, and I wish to go to them as a poor creature myself . . . . . because it is through humility and sacrifice alone that we feel the holy spirit of pity."

Early in June 1926 were laid the foundations of the new fireproof building, on the plans of which she and the architects had been working for twelve months. A few weeks later she finished a busy day by writing a large batch of letters—she wanted a Community building for her nuns—and, laying the appeals before St. Joseph in the Chapel, she went peacefully to bed. The next morning a Sister, going to call her, found that she had died in her sleep. " She had embarked on the most beautiful adventure of all, for which she had prepared so many," said one of the numerous press notices after her death.

The Congregation founded by Mother Alphonsa continues her work : in St. Rose's Home on Rosary Hill, in the Sacred Heart Free Home at Philadelphia, and in the Rose Hawthorne Lathrop Free Home in River Falls, Massachusetts, her name is remembered with love and gratitude by those sick poor whom for twenty-six years she laboured so faithfully to serve.

CHARLOTTE M. KELLY

FACTS AND FANCIES: PHYSICS AND PHILOSOPHY

BY HENRY V. GILL, S.J.

OF recent years it has become usual for scientists to pass from the specialised branches of knowledge in which they have distinguished themselves to a more general or philosophical consideration of the conclusions at which they have arrived. Both in lectures and published works it has become customary for them to address themselves to the thoughtful public who have at most only a very general acquaintance with specialised science in any of its many aspects. The recent publication of such a book[1] has suggested some considerations about it, in particular, and about others of a similar character.

The publishers' advertisement on the wrapper tells us that " the book, in fact, will prove of great importance to many who are neither physicists nor philosophers. . . ." It is therefore written for the benefit of the general educated reader. The same description applies to many of the works by Jeans, Eddington and others. These books are not to be confounded with " popular " books on applied science, such as describe the achievements of its application in electricity, light and such everyday phenomena. They deal with the most refined and difficult theoretical problems which present themselves in science, and especially in the mathematical interpretation of nature. The immense sale of such publications—as is revealed in advertisements—shows the interest taken by very many in the theoretical aspect of science. But one cannot help thinking that a large number of those who read them, instead of finding their ideas clarified, must become more confused not only about the strictly scientific subjects dealt with, but about even more fundamental matters introduced by the writers—sometimes almost as *obiter dicta*.

It would be impossible in a few pages—or even in a book as lengthy as that referred to—to deal adequately with even some of the innumerable points touched on by the writer. I shall therefore content myself with examining some few matters which are of special importance for the physicist and philosopher alike. In the first place, following the example of Sir James Jeans, I will assume that anyone who has enough interest in the subject to induce him to read these pages also possesses at least a general knowledge of modern physics and philosophy.

Of the many subjects dealt with by Jeans, Eddington, Einstein and

[1] *Physics and Philosophy* by Sir James Jeans. Cambridge University Press. 1942. 8s. 6d.

others in books of this kind, from both the scientific and philosophic aspect, perhaps the most fundamental is that of " space." Another question prominent at present in physical science is that concerning " determinism," which some physicists endeavour to explain as throwing light on the philosophic problem of free-will. Again of late years the words " God " and " creation " appear in the indices of such works, which refer—very inadequately it must be admitted—to the part played by God in nature. Finally, the whole question of the scope of physical knowledge has been recently restricted, and this evidently must have both physical and philosophical consequences. I shall briefly deal with these subjects. My object is to call attention to the treatment they receive from the scientists.

Both Jeans and Eddington[1] attempt to prove that the modern study of the behaviour of electrons shows that now, for the first time, there is a possibility of reconciling the freedom of the will with the teachings of science. At last " the door is thrown open." It emerges out of this theory that electrons in material bodies do not move according to any plan ; that from the position or velocity of an electron at any instant it is not possible to foretell its position or velocity at any future instant. It is part of the essence of an electron to be indeterminate, just as it is of the nature of a circle not to be a square. From this property is deduced the possibility of free-will. In 1932 Eddington said : " The new physics thus opens the door to indeterminancy in mental phenomena, whereas the old deterministic physics bolted and barred it completely. If the atom has indeterminancy, surely the human mind will have an equal indeterminancy ; for we can hardly accept a theory which makes out the mind to be more mechanistic than the atom." In the present book Jeans practically repeats (though in a more guarded fashion) the same conclusion (pp. 215-6).

It is quite a misleading description of freedom of the will to compare the working of the mind to indeterminism. The mind determines itself. It is not even good science to apply the laws of inanimate matter to vital activities. The constituents of matter do not behave in the same way in living and non-living matter. Nothing is more true of atoms, electrons, etc., than that, when they are constituents of non-living substances, they obey the laws of entropy. Yet these same particles, when they become incorporated into living organisms, are no longer subject to the laws of entropy, but act in exactly the opposite direction ! Whatever argument may be deduced from the study of physics to encourage belief in the freedom of the will, certainly the indeterminancy of electrons will not do so. The reader for whom these books are presumably written, if he has doubts as to the freedom of his will, would be more doubtful still if

[1] Presidential Address to the Mathematical Association on " The Decline of Determinism." Cf. *Nature*, February 13, 1932. References to Jeans's new book are indicated by the page.

this were the only solution which science or philosophy had to offer. The question of freedom of the will must be decided by other and more easily observed facts than the movements of electrons. Newton and other great physicists accepted the freedom of their wills while believing in the physical laws of cause and effect ; and even they were unaware of the existence of an electron. Are we to believe that Eddington and Jeans were not convinced of their own freedom until Heisenberg proposed his theory in 1925?

To come to a more purely material problem of modern science : there are few questions which appeal more to those who are interested in the philosophic aspect of physics than the nature of *space*. The book here under consideration reflects the unsatisfactory state of the modern concept of space. The word is used in so many different senses that it would be impossible in a few pages to set out its different meanings. Presuming that those who read these books are acquainted with the ordinary notions of physics, it is natural that they should be interested to have put before them clearly the difference between the " æther of space,"[1] a " perfect vacuum," the " space-time continuum " of relativity, and the nature of " curved space " as employed by mathematicians. The present writer has to confess that he has never been able to gather from these " popular " works a clear statement of the meaning to be attached to these expressions. Yet the notion of space in all these meanings is essential to an understanding of many problems of physics, such as the nature of light, gravitation, action at a distance and so on.

One of the great fundamental hypothesis of the nineteenth century was the *æther*, a mysterious medium or atmosphere through which light came in waves or undulations from distant objects to the earth. It was also looked on as the medium for electric and magnetic forces—and even for gravitation. There was, of course, great difficulty in imagining the kind of thing this æther was ; but it explained so many facts that the nature of its structure was looked on as a secondary problem, which would, no doubt, be explained in good time. But towards the end of the last century new discoveries undermined the confidence of physicsts in its existence. Finally, the theory of Einstein appeared to deny its existence altogether. This assertion is so commonly made even now that it will be of interest to recall some of Einstein's own words published twenty years ago.

Einstein had completed his general theory of relativity by 1918, and therefore the extracts here recorded represent his views—which have not since been modified. In 1920 there was published an authorised translation of Einstein's *Popular Exposition*,[2] which appeared originally in 1916. Referring to the expression " motion in space " he said : " In he first place we entirely shun the vague word ' space,' of which we must

[1] I will refer to the older medium as " æther " and that of Einstein as " ether."

[2] Relativity : The Special and General Theory. A Popular Exposition. London 1920.

honestly acknowledge we cannot form the slightest conception, and we replace it by ' motion relative to a practically rigid body of reference.' " Nevertheless the word appears frequently throughout the book, to the no small bewilderment of " those who are not conversant with the methods and operations of theoretical physics "—for whose information the book was written. There was a good deal of speculation as to whether his views did away with the need of an *ether*, and even authorities were divided on the point. Realising, no doubt, that there was need of a clearer exposition, Einstein published in 1922 an English translation of two lectures under the title *Sidelights on Relativity*. The first of these lectures was given in May 1920, " Ether and the Theory of Relativity," before the University of Leyden ; the other was on " Geometry and Experience," which is an expanded form of an address delivered before the Prussian Academy of Sciences, in Berlin, in January 1921. If modern physical philosophers would recall Einstein's views, it would save their readers much misunderstanding. I make no excuse for citing these views at some length :—

More careful reflection teaches us, however, that the special theory of relativity does not compel us to deny the ether. We may assume the existence of an ether ; only we must give up ascribing a definite state of motion to it . . . (p. 18).

But, on the other hand, there is a weighty argument to be adduced in favour of the ether hypothesis. To deny the ether is ultimately to assume that empty space has no physical qualities whatever. The fundamental facts of mechanics do not harmonise with this view. For the mechanical behaviour of a corporeal system hovering freely in empty space depends not only on relative positions (distances) and relative velocities, but also on its state of rotation, which physically may be taken as a characteristic not appertaining to the system itself." (p. 16).

What is fundamentally new in the ether of the general theory of relativity, as opposed to the ether of Lorentz, consists in this, that the state of the former is at every place determined by connections with the matter and the state of the ether in neighbouring places, which are amenable to law in the form of differential equations ; whereas the state of the Lorentzian ether, in the absence of electromagnetic fields, is conditioned by nothing outside itself and is everywhere the same (p. 19).

Recapitulating, we may say, that according to the general theory of relativity, space is endowed with physical properties ; in this sense, therefore, there exists an ether. According to the general theory of relativity space without ether is unthinkable ; for in such space there would not only be no propagation of light, but also no possibility for existence for standards of space and time (measuring rods and clocks), nor therefore any space time intervals in the physical sense. But this ether may not be thought of as endowed with the physical quality characteristic of ponderable media, as consisting of parts which may be tracked through time. The idea of motion may not be applied to it (p. 23).

Our only way out seems to be to take for granted the fact that space has the physical property of transmitting electro-magnetic waves, but not to bother too much about the meaning of this statement. We may still use the word ether, but only to express some physical property of space.[1]

[1] This statement, which is taken from *The Evolution of Physics* (Cambridge 1938), is the most recent authoritative statement of Einstein's conception of the nature of space.

It is clear from these passages that Einstein's " space " is not to be confounded with the imaginary space of scholastic philosophers, which, although it is derived from the notion of matter and therefore has a foundation in reality, is itself a *non-ens*—nothing, a perfect vacuum. The space of relativity is, however, not endowed with the same properties as the æther of the nineteenth century. Yet it has definite physical properties and is a medium through which certain influences of one body on another are exercised. From the philosophical aspect this is the important fact. Even those who believed in a luminiferous æther never succeeded in describing its physical nature. It performed definite functions. Whether it is more or less difficult to describe the ether of Einstein is a matter of secondary importance—especially according to the modern concept of physical knowledge.

Once we realise that relativity as understood by Einstein is " unthinkable " unless space is filled by an ether, such expressions as " the curvature of space " become intelligible ; the problem of action at a distance disappears ; electron waves and the modification of space by the proximity of ponderable masses are easily conceived as possible. Yet in this recent book by Sir James Jeans, and in others, it is more than implied that space in modern physics—and relativity underlies all modern physics—has no physical properties. The æther of space is replaced by a vague four-dimensal " space-time continuum." In the treatment of action at a distance (p. 116 seq), contrasting the Newtonian concept of gravitation as demanding a continuous medium between attracting bodies with the relativistic concept, we read : " The question remained unanswered until Einstein's generalised theory of relativity came in 1915 and showed that there is probably neither any answet to it nor the need for an answer." Further on we read (p. 119) : " Also the question of action at a distance has dropped out altogehter. Nature has dodged it altogether by the simple manœuvre of making gravitation act on space instead of across or through space." The writer could not fail to see that this statement is not satisfactory, and so he feels bound to add, " although in a sense this only postpones the difficulty ; it provides a new description but not a satisfying explanation of the facts." It is clear from these last words that the author does not admit the existence of any kind of medium through which gravitation acts. A more explicit statement is to be found on p. 134 : " The theory of relativity washed away the ether. . . ."

Sir James Jeans makes no attempt to answer the difficulty of action at a distance. For Einstein the problem did not present itself because he postulates an ether. The fact that certain optical experimental results seem to rule out the æther of the nineteenth-century is no argument against the existence of such an ether as Einstein demands. The two theories have different characteristics, and the nature of one is as impossible

to visualise as that of the other. The essential difference between Jeans and Einstein is that the former excludes any medium, while the latter demands one. Jeans, instead of making relativity easier to grasp, adds to the difficulty of understanding the theory as proposed by Einstein himself.

The employment of illustrations such as that just referred to raises the question of the legitimate scope of physical science. Using modern terminology we may divide nature into *observables* and *inobservables*, or as philosophers might say *accidents* and *substance*. It is generally accepted by philosophers and physicists alike that normally we can only acquire any kind of knowledge through the instrumentality of the senses, either directly or with the help of instruments such as the microscope, etc. For example, the unaided eye can only detect objects of a certain size, colour, etc. When examined by means of a microscope, details can be observed which no eye could detect. But a stage is soon reached when no microscope, however powerful, will enable the eye to see further. When we get to the stage that the senses can neither directly nor indirectly penetrate further into the constitution of a natural object, we are passing from what is observable to the unobservable. The nature of the unobservable elements of nature can only be deduced from what we know of its observable qualities. We can only deduce the nature of substance from what we know of the accidents—such as shape, colour, weight, etc.—which our senses observe.

It is sometimes forgotten or ignored by scientific writers that assertions as to the shape, size, etc. of what are called the *particles*, which are enumerated as constituting natural objects, are nothing more than deductions from experiments on the observable properties. We do not know that an electron or a proton is a particle at all. They possess properties which suggest characteristics both of particles and waves, but we are quite ignorant as to whether these waves have any resemblance to waves on the surface of the sea.

According to the most recent pronouncements of Sir Arthur Eddington[1] the object of the physicist is to investigate *knowledge*, "whereas classical physics investigated or endeavoured to investigate an entity (the external world) which knowledge is said to describe. Accordingly, the modern physicist has devised a technique appropriate to the investigation of knowledge of the kind admitted in science. If from the beginning we realise that it is observational knowledge that is being analysed—that the mathematical symbols represent elements of knowledge, not entities of the external world—unobservables cannot be introduced except by deliberate intent as auxiliary quantities in the mathematics." In other words the work of a physicist is as such confined to facts learned by experiment, and is not concerned with the nature of the reality underlying these

[1] *Philosophy of Physical Science.* Cambridge, 1940, p. 49.

facts. For example, in studying the spectrum of hydrogen he is concerned with the knowledge his observations obtain—such as wave length, frequency, etc.—and is not concerned with the hidden nature of hydrogen gas. Whatever knowledge he may arrive at concerning the latter is a matter of deduction and is more properly the function of the philosopher. In general it may be said that the physicist deals with facts which are observable, while the metaphysician is concerned with unobservables such as the nature of being, substance and the like. Sir James Jeans agrees: "Physicists who are trying to understand nature may work in many different fields and by many different methods: one may dig, one may sow, one may reap. But the final harvest will always be a sheaf of mathematical formulæ. These will never describe nature itself, but only our observations on nature. Our studies can never put us into contact with reality; we can never penetrate beyond the impressions that reality implants in our minds" (15).

According to this view—which is that of the great scholastic philosophers, who never attempted to describe what kind of thing substance "looked like"—the scientists of the last century who tried to make models of the æther, atoms, waves were working on wrong lines. It should have been enough for them to study the observable properties of these entities. We may, I think, with confidence assert that the portion, or atom, or particle from which the visible spectrum of hydrogen issues is no more like anything we can observe than (say) a "movie" picture is like the elaborate mechanism which produces what we perceive. This is evidently true of such intangible notions as those of space, the ether, etc.

Jeans runs the risk of falling into the same error. He is rightly praised for his felicity in illustrating by examples the abstract subjects he deals with. But untrained minds may take them too literally, as in the case of his description of the "four dimensional continuum." The exact position of one or more electric lights hanging at rest from the ceiling of a square room may be specified by giving their respective distances from the floor and from two of the walls which meet in a corner. A diagram or "framework" of this would represent a "three-dimensional continuum." If the lights were swinging about, in order to give their positions at any instant it would be necessary to introduce the idea of time. Einstein did this by inventing a fourth "time" dimension which could be combined with the other three.

"We first suppose," writes Sir James Jeans (p. 118) "that the presence of the gravitating mass at the time and place represented by the point P in the continuum impresses a curvature on the continuum in the proximity of the point P, just as the presence of a lead ball on a cushion at a certain place and time impresses a curvature on the cushion in the proximity of these points of space and time. Thus the continued existence of the sun will impress a curvature on the continuum in the region surrounding

the world-line of the sun." The general reader, having read so far, might be pardoned if he conceived the notion that the space-time continuum is in reality impressed. He might even conclude that the " framework," instead of being a geometrical representation of mathematical concepts, is something real. Again the " existence " or " presence " of either the lead ball or of the sun cannot produce any effect on anything. The illustration fails to indicate how the sun's attractive influence (the word " force " is now becoming unpopular) can reach a planet without bringing in action at a distance. In the illustration the impression of the lead ball on the cushion corresponds to the curvature produced in the space-time continuum surrounding it. We may find it clearer to apply it to the more visible case of the sun and the earth. No doubt the earth also produces a curvature in the " continuum " surrounding the earth, but we may omit this just as we are accustomed to neglect the attraction of the earth on the sun in studying the ordinary problems of the attraction of a large body on one very much smaller. The lead ball, then, corresponds to the sun and the cushion to the region surrounding it, represented by the space-time continuum. This curvature depends on the distance of the region under consideration from the sun. Its magnitude at any point in the " field " of attraction may be compared to that of light due to the sun itself; it decreases as the distance increases. In the older physics it used to be said that the sun's attraction acted directly on the earth. Now it is more in accordance with the theory of relativity to say that the sun acts on the field of gravitation in which the earth finds itself and, therefore, only indirectly on the earth. The earth moves in its orbit relatively to the sun because of the curvature of the field produced by the sun. Jeans, who holds that any kind of medium has been " washed away," fails to explain how the sun can produce the required curvature without bringing in action at a distance.

Again, the references to " electron waves " suggests that there is no reality underlying our knowledge of them. Yet for all we know there may be something corresponding to wave motion in such an ether as relativity demands; the knowledge we have of electron interference has some foundation in reality. But to return to Jeans. He says: " When we study the properties of these waves, we find that they are very similar to the waves of the undulatory theory of light. We have already seen that these latter may be described as waves of probability, the intensity of the waves at any point giving a measure of the probability of a photon occurring at the point. Electron waves may be interpreted in precisely a similar way " (p. 164). But this is nothing more than our knowledge of them, and they have no existence at all unless there are physicists to acquire that knowledge. " If the waves of a free electron or photon represent human knowledge, what happens to the waves when there is no human knowledge to represent? For we must suppose that electrons

were in existence while there was still no human consciousness to observe them, and that there are free electrons in Sirius where are no physicists to observe them. The simple but surprising answer would seem to be that when there is no human knowledge there are no waves ; we must always remember that the waves are not part of nature, but our efforts to understand nature." The same remarks are applied to other matters : " Before man appeared on the scene, there were neither waves nor electric nor magnetic forces ; these were not made by God, but by Huygens, Fresnel, Faraday and Maxwell " (p. 171). There is certainly an element of truth in this. Wave-particles and so on are not to be regarded as observed or ascertained facts, but as hypotheses whose interest is not in themselves but in the results they give, results capable of being verified by experiment. Jeans himself apparently forgot this when he wrote on p. 119, speaking of the question of action at a distance, " Nature has dodged it . . . by making gravitation act on space." If he had remembered, he would doubtless have written " Einstein " for " Nature." But *obiter dicta* of this kind are in danger of being misunderstood by the general reader who has no critical training.

While it is a matter of congratulation that leading scientists such as Jeans, Eddington, Whittaker and others now feel themselves bound to include the fact of God and Creation in their philosophy of science, it is to be regretted that in some cases the God they contemplate is not the God of Christianity. Eddington, who sums up his review on the place of God in nature in the last two chapters of his book *New Pathways in Science* (Cambridge, 1934), clearly states that God is not to be described in terms of mathematics or physics : " I have not suggested that either religion or free will can be deduced from modern physics ; I have limited myself to showing that certain difficulties in reconciling them with physics have been removed " (p. 306) . . . . " The religious reader may be content that I have not shown him a God revealed by the quantum theory and therefore liable to be swept away in the next scientific revolution." (p. 307).

It appears, however, that the place held by God in nature is not understood in its true sense. On page 59 of the same book he wrote : " Philosophically the notion of an abrupt beginning of the present order of Nature is repugnant to me, as I think it must be to most ; and even these who would welcome a proof of the intervention of a Creator will probably consider that a single winding-up at some remote epoch is not really the kind of relation between God and His world that brings satisfaction to the mind. But I see no escape from our dilemma." The natural meaning of these words implies that, having wound up the world and set it going, God left the world to itself as we do in the case of a clock. Professor Whittaker, in his recent lectures on *The Beginning and*

End of the World,[1] thinks it is necessary to give a warning against such a notion of God's place and action in His creation :—

> In Christian theology the creative act is not limited to the initial moment, but is regarded as continuing throughout the whole existence of the creature : a distinction is, however, drawn between the primary or supernatural creation, which turns that which is not into that which is, and the subsequent creation *mediante natura*, the continuous development or evolution in which the laws of nature are operative. It is necessary to guard against the deistic conception of God who, having constructed the world, left all subsequent happenings to be determined by invariable scientific laws, much as a watchmaker might construct a watch and leave it to run down by its own mechanism. The Christian doctrine is that all evolution is creation, though all creation is not evolution. (p. 42).

I cannot help feeling that it would be better to omit, in books meant for general reading, all references to the action of God and Creation unless the subject is dealt with adequately—and not merely by *obiter dicta* and passing references. God is too big a fact to be treated in a casual way. Several such instances of this kind might be cited from Sir James Jeans's book.

Such questions as the freedom of the will and " God the Creator and Ruler of the world " (Newton's words) are fundamental in human life and belief. Anything which tends to lessen man's convictions on these matters strikes at the very basis of civil order and religion. It may be impossible to prove or disprove that an individual action is free, but the whole of human law and order and man's responsibility to his Maker are based on the conviction that men can act freely. Freedom of the will underlies the whole teaching of Christianity and is implied in every word of Christ, and all through revealed and natural religion.

Again, unless we are convinced of God's direction of natural laws and His power to suspend and modify their operations, the whole idea of Providence and the utility of prayer are illusory. " Days of Prayer," *Te Deums*, and like exercises of religion—religion itself—are in vain. It is right that the grave difficulties which present themselves in philosophy and theology should be studied and solved, but in their own time and place and by those who are entitled to speak with as much authority on them as physicists on science. A wrong impression on these matters has very much graver consequences than those on theoretical physics.

I have endeavoured to read *Physics and Philosophy* from the point of view of a reader who, being neither a scientist nor a philosopher, seeks information on certain aspects of nature. The result has been disappointing ; if such a reader had been doubtful about the nature of " space," free will, determinism, and the function of God in nature, his reading of this book would have left him far more confused and unsatisfied.

H. V. Gill

[1] Riddell Memorial Lectures delivered before the University of Durham, February 1942. (Oxford University Press. 1942. 2s. 6d.)

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF IRISHMEN IN FRANCE

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

Part V

DRAKE, PETER, soldier and author. Born on 12 October 1671. Son of George Drake, who was appointed by his relative William Lord Dongan, Earl of Limerick, to be a Commissioner of Customs at Limerick in the reign of James II. The Drake family, long resident at Drakerath, Kells, Co. Meath, had forfeited their estate after the Irish war of 1641. Peter left Ireland in 1691 for France, where for several years he underwent many vicissitudes. In his *Memoirs* he gives a vivid account of these and of his meetings with many of his exiled kinsmen and fellowcountrymen. During his wanderings he journeyed in 1694 to Saint Germain-en-Laye, where he met Mrs. Sarsfield (Lord Lucan's mother) and her two daughters, Lady Mount Leinster and Lady Kilmallock—the latter was his godmother. In 1696 he joined Dillon's Irish regiment as a cadet, and early in 1697 was with it at the siege of Barcelona. In 1705, after undergoing much ill-fortune, he travelled to Bar-sur-Aube to see his relative, Father Nugent, who resided there. " I went to Bar-sur-Aube," he writes, " where there was an Irish Capuchin convent of which Father Nugent was Guardian, and was kindly and hospitably received." He fought at the battle of Ramillies in 1706, and in the following year was taken prisoner by the English while a captain on board a French privateer. He was sentenced to death at the old Bailey in London, but was eventually pardoned and released. He returned to France and was wounded at the battle of Malplaquet in 1709. After many strange adventures he returned to Ireland in 1740, where in his tranquil old age he wrote his *Memoirs*. This is in many ways a unique work, being one of the very few autobiographical books of the many Irishmen who led such adventurous lives on the continent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was published in Dublin in 1755 shortly before the author's death.

DROMGOOLE, JOHN, soldier and writer. Son of Robert Dromgoole of Walshestown, Co. Louth, who lost his patrimony by reason of his loyalty to James II. Born at Paris in 1720. Cardinal Fleury, Prime Minister of France, obtained for him a burse in the Collège de Navarre, where he finished such a brilliant course of studies that, at the age of twenty-two, he was appointed to the chair of rhetoric in that institution. Later he

entered the army and rose to the rank of colonel of cavalry. Displeased that Voltaire, in his poem on the battle of Fontenoy, had not rendered justice to the valour of the Irish troops, Dromgoole forcefully replied to that writer in " Reflexions Critiques." This work, which was well received, brought him the friendship of the great soldier and churchman the Prince de Clermont, who, recognising his superior intellect and qualities, appointed him his secretary and aide-de-camp. Under the Prince's command he went through the Seven Years War, in which his bravery won him the Cross of Saint Louis. At the end of that struggle Dromgoole went to London as secretary of the Duc de Nivernais on a mission to establish peace between France and England. During his sojourn he was invited to Oxford, where he delivered a Latin oration which, marked by striking erudition and eloquence, was highly appreciated by a learned assembly. Soon after his return to Paris he was appointed head of the Ecole Militaire. While in that position he met and dined with Dr. Samuel Johnson, who described him as " a very high man, head of the école militaire, a most complete character—for he had first been a professor of rhetoric and then became a soldier." He was married to Christine, sister of General Theobald Dillon, the Irish officer who was assassinated by his troops at Lille in 1792. She was an excellent amateur actress and, at the time of her brother's death, was residing in her widowhood at Lille. On the fatal day she narrowly escaped her brother's fate at the hands of a panic-stricken mob.

Dromgoole, who was a voluminous writer, devoted the last years of his life to literary studies. Among his works are—(1) " Reflexions sur un imprimé intitulé ' La Bataille de Fontenoy '—poème—dediées à M. de Voltaire " (Paris 1745); (2) " Avis aux vivants, au sujet de quelques morts " (Paris 1772); (3) " Charles et Vilcour, idylle nouvelle " (Paris 1772); (4) " La Gaîté—poème " (Paris 1772). He died at Paris on 1 February 1781.

DUCKETT, WILLIAM, propagandist and author. Born at Killarney in 1768. With his brother Thomas he was educated at the Irish College, Paris. A letter in the Irish State Paper Office describes him as a clergyman; but, though a student at the Irish College, he did not receive orders and left that institution a week after the fall of the Bastille. He was one of the many Irish signatories of the address to the National Convention in November 1792 from English-speaking residents in Paris, which congratulated the French nation on its military victories over monarchic Europe. In 1794 when the Rev. William Jackson, the envoy of the Committee of Public Safety to Ireland, was arrested in Dublin, Duckett was the bearer of 14,000 livres to the Irish capital from the Committee for the defence of that clergyman. Soon afterwards, when the United Irish movement began to spread throughout the country, he became a

contributor under the name of " Junius Redivivus " to its organ " The Northern Star." He returned to Paris in 1796 and worked incessantly to procure French aid for Ireland. Wolfe Tone, whose footsteps were dogged in Paris by spies, relates in his *Diary* how Duckett crossed his path more than once in ministerial ante-chambers and forestalled him by submitting memoranda on Ireland to the French government. Tone believed him to be one of Pitt's secret agents in France, but this was mere suspicion not founded on any facts and was probably due to " a too impulsive activity " on Duckett's part.

When the Hoche expeditionary force was about to leave Brest for Ireland at the end of 1796, Duckett appeared in that city but was not permitted to accompany it. Acting as the agent of Delacroix, the French war minister, Duckett was for a long time preoccupied with schemes for destroying English dockyards and exciting mutiny in the English fleet. In 1798 Leonard Bourbon, the French deputy who materially contributed to Robespierre's downfall at Thermidor, was the agent of the French Directory at Hamburg, and there Duckett acted as his secretary. As has been mentioned, he submitted several memoranda on the state of Ireland to the French government. These are to be found in various archives in Paris. (*Archives Nationales, Archives des Affaires Etrangères,* &c.). The charge made against him that he was an English secret agent would appear to be groundless, though Dr. Madden the historian, like Tone, calls him " a *soi-disant* agent of the United Irishmen in Paris, not employed by the Directory but by Mr. Pitt." But his name is not to be found in any secret service or pension list—it does appear, however, in the list of the outlaws proscribed by Dublin Castle in 1798.

Duckett married at Hamburg a Danish lady attached to the Augustenburg family and, when further activities on behalf of his native country seemed futile, he returned to Paris, where he received an apointment as professor at the college of St. Barbe. One of his pupils there—Durozoir, who became a notable literary man—gave high praise to his classical culture and stresses his anti-English sentiments. Duckett died at Paris in 1841, " quoting his favourite Horace on his death-bed and receiving Extreme Unction." He left two sons, Alexander a physician and William a journalist, and was the author of a *Nouvelle Grammaire Anglaise* and a book of poems which was published at Paris in 1829.

Dunchad, ecclesiastic. The exact date of his leaving Ireland for France is unknown (probably about the middle of the ninth century), and the events of his life are obtainable only from his writings. He settled in the monastery of St. Remigius at Rheims, where he taught belles-lettres. A commentary on the nine books of Martianus Capella (which treat of the liberal arts) was attributed to him, but it is now generally believed that he merely edited it—the manuscript was brought to the

British Museum from the monastery of St. Remigius where he taught. Another manuscript, containing his notes on the computus, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

DUNGAL, poet, astronomer and theologian. He left Ireland at the end of the eighth century—that century when, as Eric of Auxerre states, " almost all Ireland, with a vast train of philosophers, removed to France " —and became a deacon and monk of St. Denis near Paris. There he wrote a treatise directed against the iconoclasts and defending the use of images. This treatise is in the " Bibliothèque des Pères " (Tome XIV.). Charlemagne was his patron and friend, and to that prince he wrote his famous epistle explanatory of the two eclipses of the year 810. He was long regarded as the author, too, of an elegy in verse written under the name of " Hibernicus Exul " in praise of Charlemagne. Some modern research workers attribute it, however, to his fellow countryman Dicuil. After acting for some time as head of the monastery of St. Denis, Dungal left France, established a school at Pavia and died at Bobbio in 825. In the " Histoire Littéraire de la France " the following works are attributed to him: (1) Lettre à Charlemagne sur les deux prétendues éclipses de l'année 810; (2) Traité en faveur du culte qu'on doit aux images; (3) Vers à la louange d'Hildoard, évêque de Cambrai; (4) Recueil des poésies de Dungal; (5) Huit lettres.

DUNNE, JAMES, ecclesiastic. Belonging to the family of Dunnes (O'Dunn) of Leix, where he was born *circa* 1700, he was educated in France and, soon after ordination as a priest, was appointed curé of Boin near Chartres. He became a notable figure in the various plots and intrigues in France for the restoration of the Stuarts in the earlier decades of the eighteenth century. He was intimately associated there with leading Jacobites like Arthur Dillon and Lally Tollendal. He was a particular friend of the Duke of Atholl, the Scottish leader who suffered so much for the Stuart cause and who lived for a long time with him in his house at Boin. In December 1748 he was appointed bishop of Ossory, but did not go to Ireland till 1751. He remained there, however, for only six years, during which his health suffered, and in 1757 he returned to France where he died in the following year.

DUNNE (O'DUNNE), COUNT JAMES BERNARD, diplomatist. Relative of preceding, he was born in 1714 and was educated in France. A notable figure at the French court in the reign of Louis XV, he was sent by that king as his envoy to the court of the Elector Palatine from 1764 to 1769 and was later appointed minister to the court of Portugal. He married the daughter of Sir Humphry Parsons, who had been lord mayor of London and was a strong Jacobite. Their son, Humphry O'Dunne, born in 1742,

became an officer in the French army. During the American War of Independence a Franco-Irish force under the Count d'Estaing landed in July 1779 in the island of Grenada, which was then an English possession. Lieutenant-Colonel O'Dunne, in command of an infantry column, contributed to the brilliant victory which made the French masters of the island. In 1789 both father and son were pensioned, the former for his diplomatic, the latter for his military services.

Edgeworth de Firmont, Henry, ecclesiastic. Born in 1745 at Edgeworthstown, Co. Longford. Son of Robert Edgeworth, Protestant rector. His father became in 1749 a convert to Catholicism during a visit to Toulouse, and settled in that city with his wife and family. Young Henry was educated by the Jesuits there, and after a few years he went to Paris to complete his education at the Sorbonne. Becoming a priest, he adopted, after his ordination, the name " de Firmont " after the name of the paternal estate in Longford (" Fairy Hill "). He joined the society of *Missions Etrangères* in the Rue du Bac, and devoted himself to the care of the needy and unfortunate, and particularly of the poor Irish, in the French capital. During the first years of the Revolution he continued, amidst many perils, his quiet work and early in 1791 became the confessor of Madame Elizabeth, sister of Louis XVI. He visited the Tuileries regularly twice a week up to the August day in 1792 when the palace was sacked by the mob and the royal family only saved their lives by fleeing to the National Assembly. In the last days of August there were rumours of the Prussian enemy advancing rapidly on Paris, and domiciliary visits to suspect royalist houses by the Revolutionary authorities began to take place. The abbé Edgeworth's apartments in the Rue du Bac were among those raided, but nothing incriminating was found there. Within a week the September prison massacres began, and on the advice of some friends he settled in a small village outside the city. While there he was vested by the archbishop of Paris, who was obliged to flee from France, with all the powers of that prelate's office and with its varied duties.

On the 20 January 1793 the trial of Louis XVI on a charge of treason ended, and the National Convention decreed that his execution should take place within twenty-four hours. When the sentence was read to the king, he requested that he should see the abbé Edgeworth to help him in his spiritual preparation for death. The request was granted, and Garat the Minister of Justice brought the Irish priest in his carriage to the prison of the Temple. He spent the night with the king, and in the morning, after the celebration of Mass, took his seat beside him in the fatal journey to the scaffold. On arrival at the Place de la Révolution the executioner came forward to pinion the king, who loudly protested against such an act. An unpleasant scene seemed about to take place,

which was avoided by the tact of the abbé who advised his majesty to submit to even that indignity. The pinioning then was quietly carried out and the death sentence was consummated. The traditional story that just before the deadly knife descended the priest addressed the king with the words " Fils de Saint Louis, montez au ciel " is probably untrue—the phrase has been attributed to a royalist journalist named Lacretelle, who was present and described the scene.

The abbé Edgeworth, who, like priests generally at the time in Paris, was in lay dress, disappeared quickly through the immense throng around the scaffold, lay in concealment for some time, and in 1796 escaped to England. In the meantime his mother and sister had, like other British subjects in France, been interned—the former died during her imprisonment. In England he was offered a pension by Pitt, the arch-enemy of the Revolution, which he refused. He was about to return home to Ireland, when he was requested to carry some documents to Louis XVIII at Blankenberg in Brunswick. On arriving there the new French king induced him to remain as his chaplain, took him to Mittau, and in 1800 sent him to St. Petersburg with the Order of the Holy Spirit for the Czar, who settled a pension of two hundred ducats on him. After his return to Mittau, he contracted a fever while attending French prisoners. During his illness he was nursed by the daughter of Louis XVI and died on 22 May 1807.

His relative, Maria Edgeworth the novelist, visited Paris with her father in 1802 when her relationship with the abbé secured her much attention and many civilities. In her " Reminiscences " she tells that she formed intimate friendships with " tragic and comic poets and the old noblesse," and counted among her friends Irishmen like Lally Tollendal. In 1803, however, her father received a peremptory order to leave France, because he was believed to be a brother of the abbé. But on an appeal to Napoleon, with an explanation that he was only a distant relative and had never seen the abbé, the sentence of banishment was annulled.

ELLIOTT, ANDREW, soldier. A native of Kilkenny, he was son of an officer of the Irish Brigade and nephew of Henry Clarke, Duke of Feltre. He was a captain on the staff of Dillon's Irish regiment before the Revolution. A supporter of the new regime, he remained in France when a considerable number of Irish officers, leaving that country, joined the royalist army beyond the frontiers or entered the service of another country or returned to Ireland. He rose to the rank of colonel and, as aide-de camp of Napoleon, went through the first campaign in Italy, in which he was killed at the battle of Arcole in November 1796. After his death Napoleon wrote to his uncle, the Duke of Feltre, as follows :—" Your nephew has been killed on the battlefield of Arcole. Facing the enemy,

he died gloriously and without pain. What reasonable man would not envy a death like his? Who among us has not regretted a hundred times that he has not, like him, been removed from calumny and envy, and from the hateful passions which seem to direct almost entirely human conduct."

EMMET, THOMAS ADDIS, United Irish leader and lawyer. Son of Dr. Robert Emmet, he was born in Cork on 24 April 1764. He became a physician and, like his father, completed his medical course in France at the university of Montpellier, but later qualified as a lawyer. Joining the United Irish movement, he was regarded as one of its most trusted and able leaders. After his release from prison in 1802, he settled in Paris, where all his time and energies were devoted to obtaining French aid for Ireland. In the autumn of 1803 he had an interview with Napoleon, who assured him that the French government was determined on securing Irish independence and that a French expeditionary force was in preparation for that object. Emmet has left an interesting "Diary" of his time in the French capital, which also records his interviews with Talleyrand and various French military officers. Disillusioned and disappointed at seeing no prospect of getting aid, he left Paris in 1804 for the United States—"no nation or people," he wrote, "that loves liberty, need look to France for honest co-operation." After a distinguished legal career he died in New York in 1827.

EUSTACE, SIR MAURICE, soldier. Nephew of Sir Maurice Eustace of Castlemartin, Co. Kildare, who was Lord Chancellor of Ireland from 1660 to 1665. He took part in the Jacobite war and, at the head of the regiment which he raised in Co. Kildare, fought at Derry and was severely wounded at Limerick. After the confiscation of his estate, he went to France where, as colonel of the regiment d'Athlone, he went through the Italian campaign under the Marshal de Catinat. He died in 1693. A considerable number of his kinsmen in Kildare and adjacent counties were also attainted at the same time. Thus we find Maurice Eustace listed as "one of the sixteen young gentlemen of good family" who sailed from Limerick in July 1691 to join the Mountcashel Brigade as cadets in France.

EVERARD, PATRICK, ecclesiastic. Born at Fethard, Co. Tipperary in 1752. He went in 1775 for his ecclesiastical education to Salamanca, where he obtained his doctorate of divinity. On leaving Salamanca for Ireland in 1782, he broke the journey at Bordeaux to visit there the Irish family of the Bartons, who were wine merchants in that city. This family and his own were intimately connected in Ireland by social and business ties. The Bartons had bought the property of "The Grove"

near Fethard, which originally belonged to the Everards, and Dr. Everard's father had undertaken the administration of the estate, as the new owners resided almost entirely abroad. During Dr. Everard's stay in Bordeaux he became acquainted with Dr. James Glynn (*See* GLYNN), the president of the Irish college there. The latter, who was elderly and in delicate health and wished to retire, was much impressed by the character and personality of Dr. Everard. He appealed to Monsignor de Ceci, the archbishop of Bordeaux, to prevail on their visitor to remain at the Irish college. Dr. Everard agreed to do so and acted as vice-president of the institution for ten years. After the outbreak of the Revolution, the college was for some time immune from the repressive measures decreed against ecclesiastical property. Thus the municipality of Bordeaux wrote on 12 February 1792 to Dr. Everard that, if he wished to reserve his chapel for the ecclesiastics of the seminary, he need only keep its doors closed, but that if public worship was carried out there the Directory decree must be observed. With the coming of the Reign of Terror, however, immunity ceased. In October 1793 a furious band of Jacobins invaded the college, and Dr. Everard narrowly escaped capture on the occasion. Some of the mob laid hold of him as he was endeavouring to get hurriedly away, but his soutane, old and worn (it is said), gave way in their grasp and thus probably saved his life. He lay in concealment for some time in a friend's residence, and eventually escaped over the frontier to Spain. In 1810 he was appointed president of Maynooth college, and two years later became archbishop of Cashel. He died on 31 March 1823.

EVERARD, SIR REDMOND, Jacobite. Relative of preceding. His father, Sir John Everard of Fethard, Co. Tipperary, was killed at the battle of Aughrim in 1691 fighting for James II. As a result most of the family property was confiscated, and only a very small portion fell to his son Sir Redmond, who was the last of the baronets of a great family. Being an ardent Jacobite he went to France on the death of Queen Anne in 1714, and was associated there with the movements for a Stuart restoration. His house at Paris became an active centre for expatriated Jacobite leaders, and in 1725 James III raised him to the peerage as Viscount Everard. He died at Mignott near Paris in April 1742, and with his death his title became extinct. A kinsman, James Everard, who was a captain in the Jacobite war in Ireland, also emigrated to France after confiscation of his property—his descendants resided, up to recent times, in the Château Everard in the neighbourhood of Paris.

FAGAN, CHARLES (COUNT), soldier. Born *circa* 1760. Son of Christopher Fagan (*See* following), Killarney, he followed a military career in France, where he became a captain in Dillon's regiment. A partisan of the monarchy at the period of the Revolution, he emigrated

and joined the royalist army beyond the frontier. After the Peace of Amiens in 1802 he returned to France, but on the renewal of hostilities with England he was arrested and sent as a prisoner of war to Verdun, where he was confined for several years. In 1809 Fouché, Duke of Otrante and Minister of Police, who was intriguing, unknown to Napoleon, to establish peace between France and England, ordered that Captain Fagan should be brought to Paris. There he arranged that the Irish officer should go to London, apparently as an emissary of Napoleon, to interview Lord Wellesley, the English Foreign Secretary, regarding an entente between the two countries. On his return from the English capital in 1810, Fagan was imprisoned in the dungeon of Vincennes on a charge of having exceeded his instructions. He was, however, detained for only twenty-four hours, Napoleon having deputed Baron Mounier, Counsellor of State, to excuse the unjust treatment meted out to him and to thank him for the distinguished manner in which he had fulfilled his mission. Fouché's dismissal followed as a consequence. Fagan died on 6 March 1813.

By his marriage in 1788 with Marie Thérèse, Marchioness de Lawoestine, daughter of the Marquis de Lawoestine, grandee of Spain, Fagan became allied to the houses of Bourbon and Rohan-Soubise, and by royal permission he assumed the title of Count de Fagan. By this marriage he had a large family. One of his sons, Charles Anthony, entered the French army, was a captain of the " Gardes du Corps " of Charles X, and was killed by a fall from his carriage. Another son, Patrick, who qualified as a doctor, practised his profession at Ross, Co. Wexford. And one of his daughters, Marie Thérèse, was married to Count Coronine of Cronberg, chamberlain to the Emperor of Austria.

FAGAN, CHRISTOPHER (CHEVALIER), soldier. Son of Patrick Fagan, Killarney, and grandson of Christopher Fagan, Feltrim, Co Dublin (who had settled in Kerry after the Jacobite war). Born in 1733, he entered the French army in 1755 and became a captain in Prince Soubise's regiment of dragoons. He saw service in the earlier part of the Seven Years' War, but was so severely wounded at the affair of Ham in 1758 that he was compelled to retire from the army. On doing so, he received a pension and the Cross of the Military Order of Saint Louis. He became an intimate friend of General Count Daniel O'Connell, in whom he took a paternal interest during that officer's early years in the French army. At the time of the Revolution he lost a considerable amount of his property and left France. He settled in London, where he died on 6 January 1816.

In France he married Catherine, daughter of Joseph de Cortes, by whom he had two sons, Charles (*See* preceding) and Christopher, both of whom were officers in Dillon's Irish regiment. The latter, holding

royalist views, left France during the early years of the Revolution, entered the English army and died unmarried in the West Indies. Chevalier Fagan's brother, James, was also in the French service and rose to some distinction. In 1778 he was second in command in the island of Saint Dominique. He, too, left France during the revolutionary troubles, entered the so-called Irish Brigade in the English army, and died in 1801 in a duel at Grenada. Other branches of the Fagan family were established at Bordeaux and Angers. The " Stuart Papers " (Vol. I) contain a Declaration of James II at Saint Germain-en-Laye (dated 4 February 1700) which states that " Mr. James Fagan, native of County of Dublin, now residing at Bordeaux, is a gentleman and is descended from the noble and ancient family of the Fagans of Feltrim in Ireland." And Mr. C. E. Lart, in his " Extracts from Registers " (Angers), gives the following among the baptismal entries: " Fagan, Jean Eugène, bapt. 1702, 23 Mai, fils d'hon: homme Eugène Fagan, Docteur ès Lois de la faculté des droits d'Angers."

FERRIS, EDWARD, ecclesiastic. Born in 1738 at Ballymalis, Tralee, Co. Kerry. Son of Daniel Ferris and brother of Richard Ferris. (*See* FERRIS, RICHARD). At the age of sixteen he went to France and, having entered Clare's Irish regiment, served in it till he obtained the rank of gentleman cadet. Feeling an inclination to a religious life, he left the army in 1758, joined the " Congregation of the Mission " and, after ordination as a priest, was employed in the instruction of ecclesiastics. In 1771 he obtained the doctorate of theology in the university of Nancy and was appointed superior of the seminary of Toul. Three years later he was transferred to the Grand Séminaire of Amiens, where he acted as superior till his election in 1778 as assistant-general of his Congregation. In Paris his reputation for rare intellectual power and sanctity made him highly esteemed, and he became a well-known figure at the French court. Contemporaries refer to his " transcendental piety and universal learning."

After the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789 the headquarters of the " Congregation of the Mission " in the French capital, Saint Lazarus, was sacked by the mob, and in 1794, with his Superior-General, Ferris went to Rome, where he was welcomed by Pius VII. Soon afterwards, however, Italy was a theatre of war, and the Supreme Pontiff himself became a prisoner. Dr. Ferris accordingly crossed into Switzerland, devoting there some years to missionary work. Finally, after many vicissitudes and absence of forty-five years, he ultimately reached Ireland and was immediately appointed dean of the recently established college of Maynooth. At this time several distinguished French ecclesiastics—La Hogue, Anglade, Delort and Darre—who were forced to leave France, were on its staff of professors. In 1801 Dr. Ferris was appointed to

the chair of moral theology, which he held till his death in December 1809. He was buried in the graveyard of Laragh Brian near Maynooth. A few years ago his remains were removed to the cemetery of the Vincentian Congregation at Castleknock, Co. Dublin. There is an interesting portrait of him in Maynooth college.

FERRIS, EDWARD, political agent. Relative of preceding. Born near Tralee, Co. Kerry, he was a student at the Irish College at Paris during the first years of the Revolution. An enthusiast for its principles, he was present at the meeting on 18 December 1792 when the English-speaking residents of Paris, the majority of whom were Irish, celebrated with fervour the victories of the Revolutionary armies over England and the allied monarchies of Europe. He was one of the signatories, too, of the congratulatory address which that assembly sent to the French government. In 1793 he was employed on the diplomatic committee of the National Convention, and in that year was sent, with three other Irish students, on a political mission to Ireland. On the way, however, they were arrested in London. His kinsman, Richard Ferris (*See* FERRIS, RICHARD), the notorious Irish ex-priest who became an English secret agent, writing in 1793 to the English Foreign Minister, requests that he may not be confused with Edward Ferris whom he describes as " a disloyal subject bearing the same name and who was sent to Ireland to preach revolution." (P.R.O., London, F.O. Vol. 43). His name is mentioned, too, in a secret report sent on 4 March 1793 to the English Foreign Secretary by another Irish ex-priest in Paris, Charles Somers, who was also an English secret agent: " Four young Irishmen are on the point of going over to Ireland on an express mission from this country. They are a parcel of young fellows just escaped (*sic*) from the Irish seminary here—Mr. Ducket and Mr. Ferris are two of them." And there is a reference to him from an opposite quarter in the confidential report sent by Edward Lewins, the agent of the United Irishmen in Paris, to the French government in 1796. (Archives de la Marine, Mémoires et Projets—Tome IV.). In this report Lewins, referring to Kerry, states: " It is the Irish county best known to me . . . there is scarcely a field in it which I don't know . . . it is the most republican of Irish counties." And he continues: " There is in Kerry an apostle of liberty who accompanied me to Ireland from France in 1793. He was employed with me by the Executive Council and the diplomatic committee of the Convention. He lives at present in Tralee. His name is Ferris, and you can place complete confidence in him."

RICHARD HAYES

A MISSIONARY ADVENTURE OF THE SOLOMON ISLANDS

BY MICHAEL GARAHY, S.J.

THE Solomon Islands, which figure so prominently in the war news emanating from the Pacific zone, received their name from Alonso Mendana a Spanish navigator, who in the course of his voyaging in the Pacific discovered this island group in the year 1567. He was so impressed by what he saw of their beauty and natural riches, that he called them Islas de Salomon, naming the three large islands at the southern end of the group San Cristoval, Guadalcanal, and Ysabel. The Spanish government of the day did not proceed to occupy the islands, and yet fearful lest their existence should become known it carefully guarded the secret of this discovery by Mendana.

Louis de Bouganville, a Frenchman, in 1767 discovered the three northern islands. A little later another French navigator, de Surville, landed on one of the islands with a small force. He was the first to make a lengthened stay in spite of the hostility of the natives. Attempts made by traders and missionaries to establish settlements failed utterly as a result of murderous attacks by the savage islanders. In 1803 Great Britain annexed the islands of Malaita, Marovo, Guadalcanal and San Cristoval. The other islands came under German influence. At the outbreak of war in 1914 Australian forces seized the islands in German occupation, and in 1920 these were mandated to Australia by the League of Nations.

The first Catholic missionaries who attempted a settlement on the islands were the French fathers of the Marist Society. Landing in Ysabel in 1845, they were set upon by the natives. Monsignor Epaulle, leader of the little band, was within a few days captured and killed. So fierce was the hostility of the native population, notorious for their cannibalism, that the mission had to be abandoned three years later. It was not till 1897 that the Marist Fathers ventured to return and renew their efforts to win this savage people to the faith of Christ. In the face of obstacles that might well have daunted the courage of men less brave, these heroic Frenchmen succeeded by degrees in establishing mission stations in Ysabel, Guadalcanal and the adjoining islands. Schools were set up for the education of the children and by 1900, when the incident I am about to relate took place, several hundred children had been baptized and instructed in the faith.

To enable the Fathers to pass from island to island they had purchased a little schooner. Manned by native boys and captained by Père Rouillac, who had taught the boys how to set and furl the sails and even to steer a

course, she made many successful trips between the islands. For a year or more all went well. Then came a day of storm, one of those destructive cyclones so frequent in the Pacific. The little craft, swept from its moorings by the terrific seas, was piled up on a coral reef that gashed and ripped her timbers almost from stem to stern. When the storm abated, the Fathers succeeded in beaching her and effecting temporary repairs. It was a makeshift job at best, as there was no boat-repairing yard on the islands.

It soon became evident that a thorough overhauling by competent hands was necessary to ensure the seaworthiness of the little schooner. In this connexion Sydney, capital of New South Wales, Australia, where every facility for the necessary repairs existed, naturally appealed to the missionaries in spite of its great distance. Many years previously the French Marists had established a base in Sydney, on a beautiful eminence overlooking the Lane Cove River, an arm of Sydney harbour. The Church, and residence attached, served the spiritual needs of the parish of Hunter's Hill. To this residence came from time to time missionaries from the many islands in the South Seas under the jurisdiction of the Marist order, some of them on rest leave, others worn out by their strenuous labours, to spend their declining years in this beautiful retreat. To Sydney, therefore, the injured schooner must be brought, especially as the expenses of repairs and refitment would have to be borne by the community in Hunter's Hill.

Then came the question of finding a skipper and crew to undertake the perilous voyage of 1,800 miles. There were a few retired sea-captains living on the islands. These were approached in turn with the offer of a handsome reward to sail the boat to Sydney and back. Not one of them would consider the proposition for love or money. The risk was too great—to say nothing of the difficulty of finding a crew. It was in these circumstances that Père Rouillac, who had arrived from France a few years previously, approached his superiors with the request to be allowed to take the boat to Sydney himself. On the journey from France to the islands he had become intimate with the ship's officers. He was permitted the freedom of the bridge, and evinced so deep an interest in the secrets of navigation that the officers, to gratify his curiosity, gave him instructions how to plot a course and take a bearing with the instruments. This, coupled with his experience in sailing the schooner between the islands, was all that he knew of seamanship. No wonder his superiors hesitated to allow him to undertake the perilous journey.

None the less Père Rouillac continued to press for permission and, in expectation of getting it eventually, set about training a crew of native boys in preparation for the venture. He selected ten lads varying in age from 15 to 17 years and one man, a half-caste Maori. The latter, in case of accident to himself, he taught how to navigate the little boat. Thus

prepared he pleaded again for permission and, as the schooner was an indispensable necessity for the work of the Fathers, he was allowed at last, trusting in the protection of God and our Lady patroness of the Marist Society, to essay the dangerous journey.

Dangerous the journey certainly proved to be. On more than one occasion nothing but the splendid courage of the Father, his faith in Mary, his guiding star, and his skilful handling of the little craft saved himself and his crew from shipwreck in the fierce gales that sweep the Pacific. Six long weeks on the broad ocean the gallant skipper and his little crew scanned the horizon in search of the heads that guard the entrance to Sydney harbour. And then, one morning, the look-out gave the joyous signal " land in sight." Rushing up from his cabin, Père Rouillac turned his binoculars on the distant coast and, sure enough, he had plotted his course well and truly. There, some fifteen miles away, stood revealed the two great heads. With a prayer of thanksgiving to the Sacred Heart and our Lady, and with a ringing cheer from the crew, the little boat nosed her way to the entrance.

The Coast Guards on the southern head had by this time sighted the schooner through their powerful telescope and, as she drew near, they were amazed to see that the hands on deck were Kanaka boys, all of them youngsters with the exception of two men, one of whom held the tiller while the other moved about giving orders apparently. Their excitement became intense when, as the boat approached the heads, they saw that the steersman was a European, a white man with a long black beard. They 'phoned at once to the offices of the Sydney *Morning Herald* and the *Daily Telegraph* that a tiny schooner, manned by black boys under the command of a white man with a black beard and dressed like a priest, was making for the harbour entrance.

The response was immediate. A steam launch carrying a number of Press reporters headed for the mouth of the harbour. Meeting the little boat as she was passing Rose Bay, they drew alongside. Great was their wonder when Père Roulliac, from the deck of his boat, informed them in broken English that he had sailed from the Solomon Islands six weeks before to have his schooner, which had been wrecked on a coral reef, repaired. Back sped the launch to the city, the reporters busy with their pens to rush through a special edition of the evening papers featuring the exciting news. Some of the ships at anchor in Circular Quay got wind of the affair and, as a couple of hours later the visitors from the Solomons sailed past the Quay on their way to the Lane Cove river, the ship-masters in the know blew their sirens in salute.

Next day, and for many days after, numbers of sailing and rowing boats, filled with sightseers bringing presents of fruit, eatables and tobacco, came to inspect the schooner as she lay at anchor opposite the Jesuit College of Riverview. The writer of this article, on the teaching staff

of Riverview at the time, was fortunate to secure a photo of the " Eclipse," as she was called, and of the gallant crew. Subscriptions from Catholics and Protestants alike poured in to defray the cost of repairs and to restock the vessel for the return voyage. Taken to the yard, she had a thorough overhauling and, provided with new sails and gear, she was ready after a few weeks to face the journey homewards.

Then arose a difficulty unforseen by Père Rouillac. The harbour authorities refused him clearance unless he carried an officer with a navigator's certificate. This was a staggering blow to the man who had brought his battered barque all the way to Sydney. However the astute Frenchman was not to be beaten. He arranged with a Catholic mate, who held the required certificate, to take them outside the three mile limit. A little dinghy to take the mate back was stowed on board. Once clear of Australian territorial waters, the dinghy was launched, the friendly mate shook hands with the priest and his crew, wished them " bon voyage," and then pulled back to the harbour. Père Rouillac waved him a last good-bye, and set his course for the Solomons, where he arrived safe and sound after another journey of six or seven weeks.

A few years later this zealous priest and intrepid seaman died from the effects of a fever contracted in the discharge of his priestly duties. His body rests under the shade of the palms in the little cemetery of Guadalcanal. The contrast between the cause for which he died and for which thousands have died in this same island during the past year needs no comment.

MICHAEL GARAHY

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

LXV

HOSPITALITY AND POWER OF TOMAS

NIALL Ó hUIGINN fós

1. Díoth cruidh coire Tómás ;
taoiseach Theallaigh Eachach
an fial [coipcheann] cruthach
mar Bhrian coitcheann creachach.

2. Trí choire ag cleith Chruachan
gon chraoibh bhéildeirg bhoinnghil
coire thoighe a theaghlaigh
as choire gach coinnmhidh.

3. Coire bhíos gá bantrocht
bean churadh chuain Bhanna
sa doire i dtráigh tunna
coire gá mnáibh malla.

4. A chuid laoi is lán coire
cuingidh gruaidhgheal Gabhráin ;
ní dhruid chaidhche ó chongháir
a chuid aidhche is anbháil.

5. Ár muc ár bó mBréifneach
do-bheir go mbí an Carghas ;
ní háil leis lón lachtchruidh
mór do mhartaibh mharbhas.

6. Do bhiathadh fhear n-Alban
is eachtrann n-iath n-Uladh
[biadh] gon chraoibh shuairc shuilbhir
n-a bruighnibh do bhunadh.

7. Coinnmhe Line is Laighean
agus Midhe is Mumhan
tug díoth ar gach ndoire ;
ní sgíoth coire an churadh.

8. Ar gcur áis na n-áirgheadh
d'fhéinidh Bóinne buige,
díoth tug ar na tréadaibh
rug n-a gcéadaibh chuige.

9. Tómás mhac Briain Breaghaigh,
badhbh Daoile na ndonnḃhrat,
ag freasdal chliar gConnacht
mar ChonnArt mar Chormac.

10. Mág Shamhradháin shireas
gach tír [mar] Bhrian Bearbha
díoth cruidhchreach a choire,
tuirchleath Mhoighe Meadhbha.

11. Lán an chnuic do choinnmhibh
dá chathraigh láin luchtmhair;
lán toighe do theachtaibh
le choire sa chuchtair.

12. Leasg linn ar lámh fholamh
go foghlaidh gclann gCraoidhe;
d'fhior thadhaill gach thíre
ní lamhaim gan laoidhe.

13. Go loch n-aoibhinn n-Uachtair
ag airgneach Cairn Currnán
coinne ag na trí tuathaibh
a Cruachain ó gCubhrán.

14. Lán gach tír do thoirthibh
ag tuir éachtaigh Adhar;
lán do bhuaibh na mbrughadh
gach clár dá bhfuair falamh.

15. Mór ghléasdair do ghormghaibh;
ag déagsain an donnshróill,
do chan fóir gá feitheamh:
"Cóir teicheadh an tromshlóigh."

16. Ní lamhthar a leanmhain;
cá léirchreach nach léamhadh?
síoth nó osudh d'aomhadh
díoth dosun a dhéanamh.

17. Conmhaicne í Bhriuin Bréifne
ag baidhbh Cliach gá coimhriar;
clann Róigh éachtach armruadh
créachtach ó fhóir Oirghiall.

18. Teallach n-Eachach éachtach
aigbhéil d'fhearaibh gaisgidh
re bhféachain nír fuirgheadh,
nír fuilngeadh a bhfaisgin.

19. Tréan ar fearaibh Fódla
flaith Fáil, feidhm ós raineart,
do ionghair gach oireacht
gan fhionghail gan aineacht.

20. Re creachaibh a chréachtshlóigh
cá tréantóir nar tubhadh
nós dá ndearna ar deireadh
deighfhear Eamhna Uladh?

21. Sluagh Breagh ón ghleo gáibhtheach
ceo ar sróll ngeal a ngéirchleath;
a gcosdudh ar criathrach
ag brosdudh na mBréifneach.

22. Seacht gcéad sleagh ar sluaigheadh
seabhac cosgrach Codhail;
seacht gcéad glac dó i ndeabhaidh
slat Ghréag bró do bhoghaibh.

23. Laoch seacht gcéad do chloidhmhibh
mar Chearmaid mór Mirbhéal
seacht gcéad each fan uathfhras
is cleath ruadhchas rinnghéar.

24. Rosg mall is dreach dheirgmhín,
daghclann each ar airdléim,
taoiseach as fhiu airdrígh
[dan] liu craoiseach cailgréidh.

25. Rí na dtaoiseach Tómás,
tuir Mhis mheallas ríoghain,
Mág Shamhradhán Shoghuin
n-a roghuin ós ríoghaibh.

26. Mac mheic Donnchaidh Durlais
dreagun súlghorm sochraidh
ní hál drud re dheabhthaibh
ár thug is na tochraibh.

27. Re muintir Maoil Mhórdha
mór fearg flatha Doire;
mó a fhíoch do Mhuigh Midhe
gidh díoth cruidh a choire.

28. Inghean mhall Mhéig Uidhir
ucht geal, gruadh mar chorcair,
drud re haoibh sgol sgagthair,
tug crodh ar laoidh lochtaigh.

29. Inghean ríogh is ríoghna
a réim cúich nach cualaidh;
dál gan chleith ag cliaraibh
gan ghrádh neich ag Nualaidh

30. Ós bhainríoghnaibh Banbha
bhíos bean churadh Cairbre;
is í a lámh as luighthe
dámh ní chuirfe ar cairde. Díoth

31. Móide a-nois nós Gráinne
gnaoi uirre as a hóige;
a mhéad dá crudh chaitheas
a maitheas is móide. Díoth

32. Caillin ceann na n-ardnaomh,
éarlumh rob fhearr aisde,
lucht crábhaidh chruaidh charas,
sluaigh gabhas n-a ghaisde. Díoth

33. Toirrdhealbhach triath Fódla,
fear caithmhe gach cisde,
mar Dhá Thí, mar Thuathal,
rí Cruachan as clisde. Díoth

Translation

XXVI

1. Devourers of wealth are the cauldrons of Tómás, Teallach Eachach's Captain, a generous curly-haired (?) shapely warrior, like a typical Brian (his father), ever-raiding.
2. Cruacha's Pillar, a red-lipped, white-footed prince, has three cauldrons, the household cauldrons ready for all guests.

3. (And) the retinue of the Princess of the Banna stream has a cauldron in the store-house where the wine-tun is emptied, a cauldron minded by her stately ladies.

4. Gabhrán's bright-cheeked Captain has the full of a cauldron for his daily supply; his nightly consumption which is immense, is never without loud revelry.

5. He slaughters pigs and kine till the coming of Lent; he cares not much for a big supply of milch-cows, and slaughters vast numbers of kine.

6. For feeding the men (mercenaries) from Alba and the other strangers in Ulaidh's lands, this bright gay prince stores food permanently in his castles.

7. *Coigny* for men of Line and Laighin and Midhe and Mumha is a heavy drain on his store-houses, but the hero's cauldron never rests.

8. When the Warrior of the fertile Bóinn exhausts his own cattle-herds, he orders the slaughter of the flocks which he has brought in to him in hundreds.

9. Tómás, Brian Breaghach's son, Raven of the Daol, giver of red cloaks, is ever—as were Conn and Art and Cormac—mindful of Connachta's poets.

10. Mág Shamhradháin, lordly Staff of Meadhbh's Plain, who like Brian of Bearbha would fain rule the whole land—his cauldron consumes all his cattle-booty.

11. His troops on *coigny*, a hill-full of them, come to his full crowded castle; a houseful of heralds are around his cauldron in the cooking-hall.

12. To the warrior of Craoidhe's race my hand, if empty (of poems) cares not to come; to this hero who has travelled the world I dare not come without poems.

13. Coming to fair Loch Uachtair, the Three Tuaths (Clann Raghailligh, Clann Ruairc and Clann Shamhradháin) under the Raider of Carn Currnán muster at Cruacha ó gCubhrán.

14. For Adhar's doughty Prince the whole land is full of fruit; covered by his hostellers' kine is every plain which he has found unstocked.

15. Many the blue lance-blades he arrays (for fight); when any troop waiting for him sees his bright satin banner approach, it cries out: "We had better avoid that mighty host!"

16. No man dare follow (to rescue) his great *creachs*, and what fine (?) *creach* will he not dare seize? To grant armistice or peace he deems to be the same as defeat.

17. The Conmhaicne of Ó Briuin Bréifne are cared for by this Raven of Cliu; the valiant red-sworded race of Róach (*i.e.* Clann Uidhir) comes away sore-wounded from (fighting) Oirghialla's host.

18. A terror to all warriors are venturesome Teallach Eachach; no foe waits to see them none can withstand the sight of them.

19. Ruling with strong hand the folk of Fódla, this Prince of Fál in vigour more than a match for any force, has kept all his nobles free from mutual strife and wrong-doing.

20. Is there any powerful host which has not been attacked by the fierce-wounding troops of the Hero of Eamhain of the Ulaidh so as to submit to him finally (?)

21. When the Host of Breagha, hard-pressed in fight with the bright satin pennons on its sharp lances all dust-stained, is brought to a halt on marshy ground, this (alone) gives courage to the Bréifnigh (i.e. Ó Ruairc's troops).

22. With seven hundred spears this victorious Hawk of Codhal goes a-hosting; thus this Wand of the Greeks has seven hundred hands in battle, (and) a dense mass of bows.

23. This hero like great swift-spoken Cearmaid has seven hundred swords, seven hundred steeds and seven hundred red-shafted sharp-pointed spears to face the dread battle-storm.

24. Stately his glance, gentle and ruddy his face with his goodly colts charging at full gallop—such is this prince, equal to any high-king, who has so many smooth-bladed spears.

25. Prince of captains is Tómás, Lord of Mis, charmer of princesses, Mág Shanhradháin of Soghan, best of kings.

26. Grandson of Donnchadh of Durlas, blue-eyed shapely dragon—'tis not pleasant to go near his fights, the piles of slaughter he heaps up in his combats.

27. Against Maolmhórdha's race (I Raghailligh) hot is the anger of Doire's Prince ; hotter still his fury on Magh Midhe—though it lessens the plenishing of his cauldron (*i.e.*, he kills instead of capturing kine ?).

28. Mág Uidhir's stately daughter (Nualaidh, wife of Tómás), white breast, purple-blushing cheek has (often) rewarded even a faulty poem—an approach to the hearts of scholars in training !

29. Who knows not the glory of Nualaidh, daughter of prince and princess ? That she loves not her possessions all poets know.

30. This wife of Cairbre's Hero surpasses all Banbha's queens ; by her hand must we swear ; she will never put off a poet's request.

31. From her girlhood has Gráinne been loved, the greater now her glory ; the more she lavishes of her wealth, the more it grows.

32. Caillin, chief of great saints, patron of highest estate, loves all men of austere devotion, and captures hosts of men in his snare.

33. Toirdhealbhach (Ó Chonchobhair), Lord of Fódla, lavisher of his treasure—wise is this King of Cruacha, as wise as Dá Thí or Tuathal.

NOTES

Mag MS p. 43

1*c*. coitcheann *d*. *leg*. gc. gc. ? 2*a*. Cach. (u *over* C) *b*. be. boi. *d*. is choi. gachoindmhibh 3*a*. bandt. 4*a*. coiri (d *over final* i) *b*.cu. gruaidhghil Gha. 5*a*. mhuc ; bo 6*a*. bi. *b*. iath *c*. bidh 8*a*. cur 9*a*. Brea. *b*. Daili *c*. cliar Co. *d*. Condart ; Cor. 10*a*. –ain *abest*. *b*. mar *abest ; leg*. mBea. ? *d*. Moi. 11*a*. a chn. 12*a*. fol. *b*. cl. Cidhi (u *over* C) *c*. ta. 13*b*. cairrn ; *leg*. Chu. ? *d*. a Cru. o Cu. 14*d*. fu. 15*a*, gl. 17*a*. Brei. *b*. Cliach ; choi. 18*a*. nEachtach nechtach *c*. fech. *d*. fais. 19*d*. inghail 20*a*. Ri *b*. ca *written twice* *c*. donerna ; cf. DiD *103* 5 *d*. deghear 21*a*. gl. gai. *c*. a cos. ar cath. (1 *over* c) 22*d*. Gre. 23*c*. uathfas 24*b*. docland *c*. i fiu *d*. gan 25*a*. Righ *b*. Mis 26*a*. Mac m (c *above*) Dond. Durr. *c*. hail druid re dea. *d*. air thug 27*a*. Mor. 28*a*. mall Meg *c*. ri *d*. chrodh 29*c*. cleth a cli. 30*a*. baindri. 31*a*. andois ; Gráinne, *unidentified* *c*. a mhed 32*b*. earr *c*. caras

REVIEWS

Apologetics

DEATH AND LIFE. By the Rev. M. C. D'Arcy, S.J. London: Longmans. 1942. Pp. 180. 5s. net.

BROADCAST TALKS. By C. S. Lewis. London: Bles. 1942. Pp. 62. 2s. 6d. net.

" To be flotsam and jetsam with alternating moments of delight and misery, to feel the passage of time and have no charge of it, no power save to say good-bye to part of oneself swept away with it, to be covered over with the scurvy of contemporary fashion and vice, this is the *malaise* of our day, the aftermath of unbelief." It is for the comforting of the sad world of today, which he sums up so terribly in those words, that Fr. D'Arcy has written this noble and powerful book treating of the great problems of death and the life that lies beyond it. It is a book of the Christian centre. To the feverish disease of the world, clutching in turn at the carrion comfort of despair and at ignoble cosseting, it brings the only true remedies—the bread of right reasoning and the cup of Christian revelation.

The book has two main sections. The first gives the arguments from natural reason for the immortality of the spiritual element in man. The arguments are not new; but they are presented in a new and vivid light, and there is a constant appeal to the things and the thoughts of today. There is a shrewd humour in his demolition of modern pseudo-scientific theories of mind and matter: and when the gold of the Egyptians is worth the taking, he does not hesitate to take it and mint it into coin of the Kingdom. Few more convincing statements of the radical independence of mind from matter and its consequent indissolubility can be found than that contained in the early chapters. The only regret one has is that at times Fr. D'Arcy's own wide interests cause him to introduce topics and references which will puzzle many of his readers. This is very noticeable in the excellent chapter on " Soul and Body," where a discussion as to whether the ideas of matter and form can be applied to the spiritual world can be of little interest save for philosophers by profession. And when, having quoted two difficult passages from the *Note-Books and Papers* of Gerard Manley Hopkins, he adds that these passages " are too well-known to quote," we begin to wonder what esoteric audience he has in mind. These are minor blemishes it is true. But, given that the subject matter is already by no means easy in itself, whatever needlessly complicates the argument should be avoided, in order that so useful a book might reach as wide a circle of readers as possible.

In the chapter on " The Undying Self," Fr. D'Arcy introduces the distinction popularised by Maritain in modern times, between person and individual; and it is skilfully and convincingly used throughout both sections of the book, particularly in the opening chapter of part two. It is the choice heresy of today that man is a mere individual, a cog in the wheel of the state; and where that heresy rages, there the I-Thou relationship of the person to his Maker is ignored, there the light of his immortal destiny is extinguished. Another illuminating distinction, used repeatedly by the author and familiar from everyday experience, is that between the " horizontal " state of living and the " vertical." The one is " quantitative and repetetive and monotonous "; the other has " quality and intensity and timelessness, what Von Huegel spoke of as a participation in Eternal Life." Even in the vague foretaste of that life in our moments of pure and intense joy, we can sense its incompatibility with death and time. And in the quasi-ecstatic absorption of such moments we find a clue to the problem of everlasting life.

But however excellently the clues and arguments from natural reason may be set out, it is only in the Christian revelation that the problem finds its complete answer. Reason can tell us with certainty of the fact of survival; but its efforts at describing the nature of that survival are little better than incoherent babblings.

It is only the eye and tongue of faith that can see and tell the glory that shall be revealed in us. That glory is the theme of the book's second section—its meriting in holiness, its seed-time in grace, its blossoming in Heaven, and its fearsome irrevocable loss in Hell. The grave beauty of Fr. D'Arcy's style and the clarity of his thought are a singular help in approaching these profound mysteries of the life to come, and many will thank him for having seen less darkly, even if only for a moment, into the glass of the hidden things of God. The chapters on the Doctrine of the After-Life and the Supernatural form an excellent commentary on the *mirabiliter condidisti et mirabilius reformasti* of the Mass: while that on the Loss of Heaven is remarkable for its analysis of the punishment of pain. "When, then, instead of making a loving return to this fiery dart of love, the soul sets up a final resistance, can there be a better statement of the facts than to describe the result as a punishment of fire? If even the mystic feels a pain for which there is no true word save that of fire, the resisting soul already chafed by loss and schism within must be blown into a living furnace by the wind of divine love. Hell is the everlasting funeral pyre of love."

In treating the doctrine of Purgatory Fr. D'Arcy makes liberal use of the writings of St. Catherine of Genoa and of the recently published *Divine Crucible of Purgatory*, and stresses its purificatory rather than its judicial aspect. To the parallel drawn between Purgatory and the dark night of the soul one would like to see added the parallel between it and the pains both bodily and spiritual of those who are by no means mystics, but who so often seem to undergo in this world that unselving and that cauterisation of evil which are Purgatory's peculiar work. There is more than pious consolation for the bereaved in the familiar phrase: "He did his Purgatory here." The doctrine of Purgatory throws a consoling light on the dark places of human suffering.

That Heaven is not easy to talk about is but too sadly evident from the scarcity of sermons on the subject. St. Paul's "nor hath ear heard" is a text that can be applied only too literally to it! May priest-readers be encouraged by the glowing words of Fr. D'Arcy, so different from "the jejune counters of philosophy" and (one may add), of our Latin text-books, to lead their flocks more frequently to the waters of the River of Life.

In Mr. Lewis's book, also, one is impressed by the skill with which he popularises philosophy and theology. His skill in doing so he has already shown in his brilliant *Screwtape Letters*. With them he set his sails on the sea of popular favour, and we must be profoundly thankful that he continues to use the current while it serves. This present book is a reprint, with some alterations, from two series of Broadcast Talks entitled *Right and Wrong: A Clue to the Meaning of the Universe* and *What Christians Believe*.

As in Fr. D'Arcy's book, so here too the first portion of the book is philosophical, the second theological. It is only when he has established a solid bridgehead, with the lighter weapons of philosophy, that Mr. Lewis reaches for the heavier armament of the theologian. As he says himself, "we're not taking anything from the Bible or the Churches: we're trying to see what we can find out about this Somebody under our own steam." What he does find out in a strikingly cogent and lucid series of arguments, illustrated by homely examples from the everyday things of life, is the existence of an objective moral law, an absolute morality, through which Something or Somebody beyond the material universe acts. And his final chapter is a *Quid inde?* which should make even the toughest conscience uncomfortable. That, he says quite bluntly, is his aim. "The Christian religion doesn't begin in comfort; it begins in dismay, and it's just no good trying to go on to its comfort without first going through that dismay."

So, suitably cautioned, his readers pass on to his outline sketch of Christian belief. Catholics will necessarily find much that they will consider inadequate—one has only to contrast section five with Fr. D'Arcy's chapter on the Supernatural. But they will also be grateful for the strength and solidity of this outline, and above all they will wish well to one who defends our common Christianity with such conspicuous zeal and skill.

"When darkness comes," says Fr. D'Arcy, "the true lights begin to flicker everywhere in place of the artificial brightness which had been spread around." Such true lights are these two books, shining out in the darkness that has come upon the earth. May their shining be clear and far, as befits lamps kindled in a place of learning which has for motto *Dominus illuminatio mea*. D. O'S.

OUR LIVING FAITH. By Rev. S. M. Shaw. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1942. Pp. 152. 7s. 6d.

THIS book is well worth its price. If it had not been produced "in conformity with the authorized economy standards" it would have run to 200 pages; but apart altogether from its size, it is the product of a mind in conformity with the needs and desires of the present generation of Catholics. Too long have we been distracted into an apologetical attitude towards heretics and their offspring, the neopagan intellectuals and the agnostic State; it is time to delve once more into the depths of our Deposit of Faith, to draw copiously from the fountain of living water springing up into life everlasting.

In two chapters Father Shaw points out: firstly, how necessary religious education is, over and above that education in the things of Cæsar which predominates in so many countries today; secondly, how we ought to regard the Church as our Mother and our only infallible guide. He hastens to remind us that the Church is the Mystical Body of Christ, in order that our attention may be drawn to that inner supernatural life which is the purpose of all that is external in her organization. In stating how we can give deeper and fuller meaning to this life he discloses the plan of the remaining twelve chapters: "We can do much by prayerful reading and reflection on those truths which form the framework of our Catholic belief and practice—such truths as the Fatherhood of God, the Person of Jesus Christ, the mission of the Holy Spirit, the virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity, the two Sacraments which we most commonly receive of Penance and Holy Eucharist, the gift of perseverance, without which all the rest comes to naught, and our final destiny in heaven. In the particular civilization that prevails today, we can safely leave Cæsar to collect his own dues; it must be the object of our deepest concern that in our daily life, with all our hearts and minds and strength, we render to God the dues that are His."

The section devoted to the Three Divine Persons occupies nearly one-third of the whole; it impresses on us that religion is an intimate personal relationship of supreme importance, not of the convenient or inconvenient circumstances of life such as half-hearted references to the Almighty or the Deity imply. Into the excellent section on the theological virtues he weaves the gifts of the Holy Ghost in a really satisfying and helpful way. The chapters on prayer and the two Sacraments are a most refreshing and nourishing blend of solid doctrine, warm devotion and practical suggestion. The remaining chapters explain how close to us is Our Blessed Lady, how interested she is in the final perseverance of her children.

Lacordaire once complained of "sermons that make up for weakness of doctrine by excess of sentiment." He would have liked this book. Yet Father Shaw's treatment of the truths of our faith is never cold, but always vivid and full of verve. His aim is to promote thoughtful consideration of familiar texts of Scripture, prayer-

ful pondering on familiar formulæ of devotion. His approach is not that of the speculative student, but that of the experienced helper and director of souls.

B. L.

THE PERSON OF JESUS. By Father James, O.F.M.Cap. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1942. 3s.

THE claim of Christ that He was the Way, the Truth and the Life is something absolute, which no lapse of time or change in human affairs can invalidate or modify. The rôle of being the Truth and the Way might be understood in a certain external, material sense, as if He were the Teacher and the Exemplar of the world. And this was a rôle which we could attribute to one who was a mere man. But the claim to be the Life of the world reveals the full significance of what He was. Such a rôle could be intelligible only in the spiritual order; it necessarily implied a contact of souls and could come only from One Who is God also. Father James, in *The Person of Jesus*, aims at presenting to the ordinary Catholic some of the "unsearchable riches of Christ." The book is not historical, but spiritual, ascetical and theological.

The titles of the different chapters—Preaching, Person, Disciples, Prayer, etc.—give little idea of the contents of this remarkable book. The opening chapters, which give a penetrating analysis of Christ's method of teaching and of His character, are very valuable, but by no means the most valuable in a book which is filled with thought, often profound and suggestive. The *Person of Jesus* might be taken as an unprofessional but penetrating commentary on some of the great Christological texts of St. Paul: "To me to live is Christ." "I live now, not I, but Christ lives in me." Or better still the supreme claim made by Christ Himself as He went to his Passion; "Now this is eternal life that they may know Thee the One true God and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent."

The central thought, which is the central thought of Christianity, is that unity of the individual soul with Christ which constitutes the mystical body or the full stature of Christ, the head of the Church. By His complete and perfect human nature He has condescended to the material conditions of our life; but His humanity is the sacrament or the instrument of His Divinity. "And if we have known Christ according to the flesh; but now we know Him so no longer." The activity of the Divine Nature is stressed on every page. Though the references to St. Thomas are few, still the Thomistic doctrine of the Incarnation is the setting and foundation of the book.

But it cannot be said that Fr. James's book makes easy reading. Not assuredly through any lack of literary power in the author. The difficulty comes from the profound nature of the subject; and also in part from the quick transitions from one aspect to another of his subject. But it is a book to be read carefully and often; such a study will be amply repaid with an increased knowledge of "the mystery of Jesus".

H. K.

BIOGRAPHY

THE GREAT O'NEILL: A Biography of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, 1550—1616. By Seán O'Faoláin. London: Longmans. 1943. 15s. net.

THIS book would be well worth reading for its style alone if it had no other virtues. Every page of it, almost, has something memorable, something to be read aloud and returned to for renewed enjoyment, some pungent judgment or comparison, some brilliant picture which makes a long-forgotten incident come to life or re-peoples a place long empty in the mind. Mr. O'Faoláin's remarkable imaginative power, disciplined by his training as a novelist, has found in Hugh O'Neill a worthier subject and in the Elizabethan age a more splendid background than any that has

attracted him so far. He makes no professional claims as a historian, and readily acknowledges his debt to the specialists whose labours have made his own work possible. But he has studied his period in all its details with truly exemplary care, and has brought to its presentation gifts which very few historians are able to command. This is easily his best book, better even than *King of the Beggars*. It is to be hoped that it will be very widely read, especially by Irishmen. Not only will they enjoy reading it, but the mental stimulus it can provide will stir them to some fruitful thinking about their country's history and their own inherited qualities, both good and bad.

The only biography of Hugh O'Neill previously published is the work of John Mitchel, written in 1845 and, apart from its slightness, coloured very much by its author's own remarkable character and political tendencies. Since Mitchel's day, the Elizabethan age in Ireland has been opened up for real study by the publication of the English State Papers and by the researches of many historians. In spite of all that has been done, however, there still exists a vast gap between Curtis and Lecky: a gap which the efforts of Bagwell and others such as Dunlop have not been adequate to fill. Even as far as materials are concerned, much still remains to be extracted from the archives at Simancas, which should illuminate the all-important Spanish side of the period. Mr. O'Faoláin himself remarks that for the full understanding of O'Neill a knowledge of Gaelic literature is essential, not so much because it has any factual information to give, as because it alone is capable of revealing to us the Irish point of view in the fatal struggle in which he was the Irish leader. It is a strange commentary on our twenty years of educational independence that there are scarcely half-a-dozen people who have such a knowledge to the requisite degree and that practically all these acquired it before 1922.

It is no condemnation of Mr. O'Faoláin's book to say that, of course, he is not one of the half-dozen. Neither for that matter is the present reviewer. No other book has done nearly as much, for all that, to bring the Gaelic background into some kind of focus as this book does. Mr. O'Faoláin has the first-rate merit, to begin with, of refusing to present O'Neill as the conventional hero of modern nationalism, a conception utterly and entirely foreign to the Gaelic Ireland of his day. Neither does he see him as Standish O'Grady saw him—the last tough and almost indigestible morsel of an outmoded, half-heroic, half-feudal age, being swallowed to its temporary discomfort by a beneficent centralised State for the good of a complacent Victorian posterity.

In the present condition of historical knowledge, for all its great achievement, O'Neill remains to a large extent an enigma. We have certain personal utterances of his which give a surprisingly modern ring—his denunciation of MacCarthy More as "a damned counterfeited Englishman," for example—but his character and ultimate ideals remain, like his day-to-day policy, evasive and impalpable. Mr. O'Faoláin's presentation gives us as good a summary of him as we are likely to get for a long time. He began as an opportunist, of doubtful lineage and still more doubtful prospects. He built himself up bit by bit, ruthlessly, steadily, never deviating from the main chance, even helping England during Desmond's agony. Having arrived at the summit of his ambition and been acknowledged Earl of Tyrone, he found himself cast for the same rôle as many another Irish lord before him—to be a catspaw in the relentless Tudor game of infiltration and confiscation.

O'Neill's almost unique greatness in Irish history lay in the fact that his inevitable reaction to this inevitable situation—which, though Mr. O'Faoláin hardly seems to think so, it is difficult to believe he had not forseen—was so formidable and so different in quality from that of his so numerous compeers. In judging this aspect of the man, Mr. O'Faoláin, while rightly drawing a sharp contrast between

him and the Desmonds, MacCarthys, O'Donnells, and the rest, has even yet hardly done full justice to his astonishing mastery over and adaptation to his own special circumstances of Renaissance political technique. Those long delays, those elaborate twists and turns of policy, that shameless readiness at every point to put off an unfavourable decision by parleys and specious offers of peace, remind the reader irresistibly of men like Ferdinand of Aragon or Henry of Navarre. Once committed to war, he was in the end, like the very different Desmond before him, changed almost against his will into the exponent of an idea, the champion of Catholicism against the heresy with which he had temporised in his youth, the statesman formulating political and educational demands which Cecil (naturally) described as " Ewtopian," but which were at least partially vindicated after centuries by a totally new and alas ! no longer Gaelic Ireland. The careful study of his proposals to Ormonde in 1599, when he was at the height of his success—they amounted, as Mr. O'Faoláin says, in effect to what later centuries called Home Rule—should be part of the education of every Irish politician.

This convincing picture of a great realist, who grew in stature with his responsibilities, stood out like a portent from the medieval world around him, and was beaten because his ideas were far ahead of his grim Tudor time, is what gives Mr. O'Faoláin's book the solid value to which his style is merely an unusual and welcome grace. There will be many details of emphasis and judgment to argue over, but such argument is surely the highest tribute an author can ask of his readers. The present reviewer misses a clearer discussion of O'Neill's religious history ; but this may be as yet beyond the power of any historian. Many will feel also that the fascinating contrast, so artfully presented, between the English world of O'Neill's boyhood and the Gaelic outer-world to which he returned, is too sharply drawn. After all, English life in the sixteenth century was not so urbane and refined by comparison with the wild, open-air, antique life of Ireland as is here suggested. England herself was almost as much an outpost as Ireland when compared with Renaissance Italy, and however strange the art of the professional *file* may sound to modern romantic ears, it is not too rash to say that the Irish literary language of the middle ages was a far more cultivated and artistic medium of expression than was English before Marlowe and Shakespeare. That the English called their Irish enemies savages and that English propagandists like Fynes Morison gave as poor an account of them as a modern German might give of the Poles does not constitute an unanswerable indictment.

The Irish political scene was chaotic, no doubt, but it had been carefully kept so for centuries before O'Neill's time by English or Anglo-Norman policy. That the Irish maintained any culture at all under the circumstances, that they kept alive so vigorous, if so peculiar, a native tradition, is what entitles the Gaelic spirit, far as it was from constituting an Irish nation, to Mr. P. S. O'Hegarty's epithet " indestructible." What remains to be seen is whether Gaelicism, attenuated as it has now become, can survive its modern alliance with nationalism. At any rate Mr. O'Faoláin gives us an unforgettable glimpse into the realities of the Gaelic world while it still was real.

M. T.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS. By V. K. Narayana Menon. Edinburgh : Oliver & Boyd. 1942. Pp. 93. 8s. 6d.

" ONCE the immediate problems which confront us are solved and our sense of values reintegrated, I think it will be easier to judge the achievement of such a towering figure as Yeats. Until then one can only repeat the well-known words that he was the last poet in the aristocratic tradition, and that in his last days, with the bottom knocked out of his moral code and unable to grasp the historical process,

he fell back upon the pride and strength of the individual will, harping always on the type of nobility and greatness he had been brought up to accept. But his imaginative intensity never flagged, and everywhere his character and his personality stood out. Whatever the verdict of the future, his work will remain for ever the greatest personal document of our time."

In this paragraph Mr. Menon concludes his study of the development of William Butler Yeats. Tennyson, reminding us of " the sullen Lethe rolling doom on us and ours and all things here," makes us chary of the words " for ever." But if we substitute the words " for a long time," most people will agree with the *ad interim* verdict here passed by an Oriental student upon the late " poet laureate " of Ireland —for such Yeats may be called. He was not only a Meistersinger ; he was a striking personality—attracting some, repelling others, intriguing all. And some day or other an attempt must be made to do justice to him. But Mr. Menon is right : the time has not yet come for a decision in the court of final appeal. This, when it does come, will probably differ as much from the disparagement of enemies as from the eulogy of friends.

Yeats was a creature of the imagination and, in a certain sense, the victim of it. Shakespeare tells us that " the poet, the lunatic and the lover are of imagination all compact." It is hardly an exaggeration to say that Yeats belonged to the three categories. His early dabbling in the occult dealt a blow to mental equilibrium from which he never seems to have recovered. Thereafter he remained a little " fey " even to those who knew him best and admired him most. In this he resembled his life-long friend AE. Both early spurned the merely natural and sought to rise to the supernatural. But they only attained the preternatural, which has an ugly tendency to turn into the unnatural—a borderline where dark shapes lie in wait for the unwary. Hence both became what a psychoanalyst might call borderline cases, but what friends and admirers would explain with the words of Pope : " Great wit is sure to madness near allied."

However explained, the ultimate verdict must take this phenomenon into account and assess it in the final summing-up ; for neither of these distinguished men of letters was content to remain within the sphere of his high vocation. Both aspired to be also teachers and evangelists. They sought not merely to entertain their generation, but to educate it. They had a gospel to preach, like St. Paul, and staked their reputation on the truth of it. They must be judged by this. Even their place in the literary Valhalla cannot be determined until we come to some decision on the worth of their message. The modern habit of accounting men great merely because they create some stir, for good or ill, in the world is not a rational way of measuring greatness. They alone are great who do great deeds ; and no deed is truly great which is not beneficent. Above all, no message can be called original which is not true ; no philosophy profound unless it be intelligible ; no theology tolerable which destroys the very notion of God. When Yeats is really analysed in the light of these principles, revaluation will result in serious devaluation. Perhaps only the singer of songs, only the dramatist and artistic craftsman will survive. But he will survive for many years to come—and that is no small thing in a world where the very mountains wear away.

Mr. Menon seems clearly conscious of this and, therefore, wisely confines himself to the artistic development of our Anglo-Irish archpoet. With great tact he avoids the more controversial aspects of Yeats's career. And so far from exalting the philosopher, politician or propagandist, he permits one to gather, from discreet but hardly doubtful indications, that the poet and artist suffered from the divided allegiance of the author. Mr. Menon writes as one who had known and had received kindness from the great man in life and who still remains his admirer.

But it is an admiration " this side of idolatry." Herein he differs from the numerous worshippers who surrounded the living Yeats and continue the cult of him in death. The result is praise, indeed, and high praise, but not fulsome and indiscriminating flattery. Hence his little volume is a valuable addition to the rapidly growing Yeatsiana. Nothing has so far come my way which equals it in critical insight and justice of appreciation.

Mr. Menon, though an Indian, writes with the ease and grace of a native. He has the gift of order and lucid exposition. Above all, he has a mind of his own and refuses to be blinded by the brilliancy of genius to the many serious limitations, intellectual and moral, under which Yeats laboured all his days. We are accustomed to regard the Eastern mind as vague, brooding, mystic, illogical, the Western as hard, cold, realistic, precise. Mr. Menon stands out as a model of what we like to call European thinking, while his subject appears as an abortive Oriental who deserted the integral tradition of our culture without really entering into the inner spirit of any other. Nothing could be more significant than the delicate irony with which this scholarly Hindu exposes the tinsel character of the Eastern *décor* of Yeats's metaphysics. He writes : " The Indian poems are very naive. His search for some philosophic idea, some tradition of belief older than the European Church, took him wherever his fancy led. Eastern philosophy had a vague and distant lure." In discussing the episode of the young Brahmin whom Yeats and AE. invited to Dublin, Mr. Menon writes : " He was a charming young man, with beautiful hands and delicate gestures. The seriousness with which they treated him and his words is somewhat pathetic." And a final quotation on this aspect of Yeats : " T. S. Eliot has pointed out that the influence of Hindu thought on Europe —as in Schopenhauer, von Hartmann and Deussen—has largely been through romantic misunderstanding. The same is true of Yeats ; though he did not, of course, apply himself to the study of Eastern thought and philosophy with half the seriousness of any of these."

Our critic does, indeed, conclude that the restless, Faustic curiosity of Yeats, which led him down so many perilous ways, kept him always alert and vital, ever exploring new methods and improving his technique. This is, no doubt, plausible —but difficult to prove. Equally or more plausible would be the conjecture that Yeats never gave us the full measure of his genius because he never found serenity of soul. The really great artists ride at anchor. They may go through their *Sturm-und-Drang* period ; but they pass out of it or else never reach the heights. And surely the reason for this is fundamental. Art should aim at reconciling us with life. To do this it must give some meaning to life. Our Irish Werther never went near to discovering the meaning of life ; and thus he fails in the highest purpose of his vocation. Of him the words of Matthew Arnold are as true as they were of Byron :—

> " He taught us little ; but our soul
> Has felt him like the thunder-roll."

In many ways Yeats resembles Shelley—yet at a distance. He lacks the intensity, the poignancy, the spontaneity of that seraph of song ; and he really only trifles with the great questions which preyed like vultures on the very vitals of the author of *Epipsychidion*. He survived the interior combats that seem to have harassed the earlier singer to the end. He compromised with existence and prolonged it to grow a more accomplished craftsman with the years, but a less inspired bard. " The Herne's Egg " is a tragic swan-song from one who wrote " Innisfree " in the first freshet of the Pierian spring within him. The last phase of William Butler Yeats is singularly lacking in both " sweetness and light." The artistry may be more perfect, but the content is more pitiful—and, in the ultimate analysis, it is the content that counts.

P. J. Gannon

I

W. B. YEATS. By Joseph Hone. London: Macmillan. 1943. 25s. net.

MR. HONE'S *W. B. Yeats* is later than Mr. Menon's study and more important because far more comprehensive. It is styled "the authorised biography" by the publishers. Yet the critics almost unanimously agree in regarding it as another *ad interim* achievement. Even while praising it, they speak of its reticence in a tone of slight reproach. Reticent it is and, in places, inspired by the Johnsonian principle of not letting the Whig dogs have the best of it. Yet the reticence is creditable to the author. We may be grateful that he has not gone in for any of that cheap "debunking" for which Lytton Strachey set the headline only to find too many imitators in the years of disillusionment between the two world wars. Mr. Yeats deserved sympathetic treatment, and he gets it here. But Mr. Hone is too loyal to truth to distort facts or canonise error. In his treatment of Bishop Berkeley (to which Yeats contributed a Foreword) he showed the same qualities of candour and good sense which characterise the present volume. The former work enabled one reader at least to "place" the famous bishop of Cloyne as nothing else had ever done; to realise at once the strength and weakness of one whose true likeness had been distorted by undue glorification on the one hand and by ignorant ridicule on the other. *In medio stat veritas.* Mr. Hone loves the golden mean. It is not exactly the way to win a *succès de scandale* or flutter the critical dove-cots; but it is the way to help the open-minded inquirer along the path of understanding.

The French aphorism that to comprehend everything is to pardon everything cannot be accepted without many reservations. But it is a tribute to human nature that the deeper we penetrate into the mysteries of the soul, the more we find redeeming traits even in those from whom we are bound to differ most. Mr. Hone points out, very truly, that Yeats was typically Irish in that he loved a fight. He even held the theory that the cause of art and literature was advanced by an occasional shindy stirring the stagnant waters. He strove to shock the indifferent out of their complacency by hard knocks. As long as the issue was purely literary or æsthetic, he was not only generally right but almost invariably courteous. When, however, it came to public matters—such as politics, philosophy or religion—he usually imparted to the discussion an element of heat, even bitterness, which was neither calculated to conciliate the adversary nor well adapted for overcoming him. He became, in fact, a poor controversialist.

In his autobiographies Yeats admits, with a humility often wanting on other occasions, the limitations of his knowledge and his lack of anything like profound scholarship. But this did not prevent him, in certain unfortunate contexts, from wandering into fields in which he floundered very badly. Thus his excursion into theology on the Divorce question led to statements which revealed an ignorance that was unpardonable in anyone venturing to debate a serious issue at all.

Hence arose a curious situation. Though deriving from Planter stock and born in a peculiarly isolated Ascendancy settlement, Yeats became in a way more Irish than the Irish themselves and was enrolled among the Irish Republican Brotherhood. Yet he was always at loggerheads with the Catholic Celtic people of Ireland and lost no opportunity of expressing his contempt for them. Their religion was superstition, their morality hypocrisy or Puritanism, their whole culture stunted. Only their folk-lore had artistic value. Out of it a sacred mythus could be evolved which, linking the degenerate present with the heroic past, would prepare the way for the great future in which creative literature and significant art would give "the loved, the romantic island that sleeps on the moaning Atlantic" a place in the sun.

Catholic Celtic Ireland either ignored the weird conception or covered it with ridicule. Thus contempt was answered with contempt, and a deep abyss was dug between Ireland and its most distinguished interpreter to the outer world. To a

large extent the same abyss came to divide the literati in general from the soul of the nation. That this was a tragedy, and remains one, only a fool will deny ; that it was good for art or literature only sophistry will pretend ; and that it was entirely the fault of the people only the intellectuals themselves will venture to assert. One thing is certain : it added to the tragedy of William Butler Yeats's career. For after all it was a tragedy, the tragedy of a supremely talented man, endowed with nearly all the gifts in Pandora's box, yet losing them one by one until only the gift of song is left—hope itself and happiness having fled.

His biographer, I think, is conscious of this but does not probe the question home. Similarly he avoids taking sides in the other controversies. There is nothing in his pages to wound any sane suceptibilities ; and yet there is enough to enable the reader to follow the whole career of the somewhat paradoxical poet with great interest and growing sympathy to the end. Perhaps a fuller and more searching life will yet have to be written. But we may be grateful to Mr. Hone that he has striven, without partisanship and with naught set down in malice, to give us an attractive picture of one who in his way lived a very dedicated life and reflected much glory on the country of his birth. In reading his life, the *lachrimae rerum* rise to the eyes and make it easy to overlook the wanderings of the bard who gave us the *Wanderings of Oisin, The Wind in the Reeds* and a whole host of lovely things which it were a pity to forget.

P. J. GANNON

ALL THE DAY LONG. Bishop Anthony Walsh, Cofounder of Maryknoll. By Daniel Sargent. New York and London : Longmans. 1942. 10s. 6d.

" I DO not hesitate to say that Bishop Walsh is the greatest missionary that America has ever given to the Church. His Society has done more to make America mission-minded than all the religious institutes of the country." So spoke Archbishop McNicholas of Cincinnati in his panegyric at the funeral of James Anthony Walsh. He did not exaggerate.

The son of emigrants from Co. Cork, James Walsh was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on February 24, 1867. His father was a " liquor dealer," kindly and upright ; his mother lovable and exacting. She died when he was only eleven ; but already at catechism class on Sundays old Father Weise, a Jesuit, had spoken of China and its needs, and already James Walsh was a collector of cents to save Chinese babies. Then he went to the Jesuit High School in Boston, debated, helped in the college magazine. The end of school-time found him undecided. His father's business seemed a little unsteady. Perhaps he should stay and help. Then to Harvard, still hesitant ; but Harvard, for all its worldliness, settled his vocation. In September 1886, nineteen years old, he entered St. John's Seminary, Boston.

St. John's was staffed and run by French Sulpicians—the French Rector, the Abbé Hogan, came from Co. Clare. The Abbé had been ordained in Notre Dame with Théophane Vénard and shared his enthusiasm for the missions. In Boston the seminarians were kept zealous by news from Tonkin, by letters written by Théophane, martyred in 1861, by letters from missioners persecuted in their own day. It was a personal interest, not merely in the missions in general but in definite missionaries, their hopes and sufferings and endless labouring for souls. A younger Sulpician, Father André, was equally enthusiastic and James Walsh, still a seminarian, wrote articles about the missions, gathered money for them and, above all, prayed. America was not yet mission-minded. It was still itself a " mission." But it was beginning to stir uneasily at the command " to teach all nations." The letters of missionaries in the field helped. Extracts from these found their way into the " Mission Notes " in a parish weekly in East Cambridge, and Father André and James Walsh helped in editing the notes.

May 20, 1892 brought ordination and an appointment as junior assistant to an Irish parish in Roxbury. Father James Anthony Walsh—the " Anthony " from Confirmation to distinguish him from the many other James Walshes—soon became known as " the priest made for sick calls." Sodalities, altar-boys past and present, a library, a paper for young men and women—seemingly Roxbury was to be his " foreign mission." But a trip to Europe in 1902 sent him back lecturing on the needs of the field afar and ready for his appointment as Diocesan Director of the Propagation of the Faith, the world-wide organization for collecting funds for the missions. Lectures, sermons, articles, books, and in two years Boston was giving more than any other diocese in the world. Still, Boston and America could do more. America was as yet more conscious of the " fold " than of the " field." American Catholics must be awakened to world missions ; this in turn would awaken greater zeal for the home missions to the Red Indians, to the Chinese in the many Chinatowns. For this awakening the sons and daughters, the brothers and sisters of Americans must be out working in the mission field. America needed a foreign mission seminary. In 1904 Father Walsh gave an address on these lines at a meeting of the Missionary Union in Washington. Among the listeners was Father Thomas Frederick Price, and Father Price agreed.

But as yet the time had not arrived. Father Price must still toil at his home mission in North Carolina. Father Walsh must still gather information and funds at his S.P.F. office in Boston. Further visits to France helped. Father Walsh met the relations of French missionary martyrs. He visited their homes, and ever the thought came back : " If only we had a seminary in America to send out such men to gladden and save those in darkness."

The first number of *The Field Afar* (recently renamed *Maryknoll*) appeared on New Year's Day 1907. With three other priests, Father Walsh had formed " The Catholic Foreign Missions Bureau " and *The Field Afar* was its organ. The paper was a success from the beginning. Congratulations came. All the way from University College, Dublin, the classical scholar, Father Henry Browne, S.J., wrote to Father Walsh : " You have evidenced a completely new spirit and your work is an object lesson for the whole world. God knows it was badly wanted " (p. 87). Young ladies volunteered to help with the production of the paper. Years later these ladies were to become " The Missionary Sisters of St. Dominic "—the Maryknoll nuns.

At the Eucharistic Congress in Montreal in September 1910 Father Walsh and Father Price met again. The time had come. " We will found a seminary." The following April a meeting of the Americam hierarchy gave its unanimous approval, and in June in Rome the two priests obtained the sanction of the Holy See. " The Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America " was now in existence, but where was the seminary ? A beginning was made at Hawthorne, twenty-nine miles north of New York, in the autumn of 1911. It was the Dominican Fathers who offered the first shelter to Maryknoll, as it was they who befriended it through its early years and supplied professors for its theological faculty. That winter saw pioneering conditions in the first Maryknoll in the Klinger Cottage, and that winter came the first recruit. A student of the preparatory school for the archdiocesan seminary, Francis Xavier Ford, was the first. The next was James Edward Walsh, the present Superior-General of the Society. By April there were six waiting to begin in the following autumn. The Klinger Cottage was too small ; so in August a piece of property in Ossining was secured and on September 18, 1912 Maryknoll began in earnest. It was named after Our Lady and after a place where Father Walsh had spent many happy vacations, " The Knolls." Besides the seminary, there was St. Michael's, a house for lay-brothers, and St. Teresa's for the helpers with *The Field Afar*.

The years slipped quickly by. The first World War came, but still the preparation for the battle for souls in the Far East went on. The War was almost over when the first band set out, but beforehand had gone Father Walsh prospecting. Through Japan, Korea, China he travelled till finally in Hong Kong he met Bishop de Guébriant, Vicar Apostolic of Canton. Years before the Bishop had promised a welcome to Maryknollers and now he kept his word. On Christmas Day in Canton he entrusted to them part of his own district. Maryknoll's first mission, Yeungkong and Loting, was a big horse-shoe of territory almost surrounding the southern half of the Portuguese Jesuits' Shiuhing Mission. September 8, 1918 Fathers Price, James E. Walsh, Meyer and Ford left to take up work in the new field afar.

Ever growing in America, ever growing in the mission field, Maryknoll's great work continued, and as its work expanded it deepened. In 1927, at Sancian Island where St. Francis Xavier had died, Father James Edward Walsh was consecrated as first Vicar Apostolic of Kongmoon, the changed title of the Yeungkong-Loting mission. By this time the Missionary Sisters of St. Dominic were fully constituted, and *The Field Afar* was continuing to help the missioners both temporally and spiritually. A further deepening came in 1932, when a special section of the Sisters was formed for contemplatives and a special house was opened to give the seminarians a " spiritual year " for spiritual training between philosophy and theology. In the following year Father Walsh was consecrated Bishop *in partibus*. The dignity came as a sign of the Church's appreciation of the great work he had done for the spread of the Faith. A few years, and then on April 14, 1936, " a safe refuge, and a holy rest, and peace at the last."

Daniel Sargent has done his work well. There is perhaps a tiny slip on the question of the Primacy of the Pope on the top of page 222—for the Pope's jurisdiction as Pastor of Pastors places him above and over all—but this is only in an aside. On the central figure of his story he writes attractively and easily. Gratitude is owing too to the publishers. After our blotched and straw-flecked paper it is a pleasure to read such a beautifully produced book. J. G.

Classics

THE PEOPLE OF ARISTOPHANES. A Sociology of the Old Attic Comedy. By Victor Ehrenberg. Oxford : Blackwell. 1943. 25s.

Dr. Ehrenberg dedicates his new volume to " my British and Irish friends." As Professor of Ancient History he was in Prague when the Germans entered that city in 1938. After a period of exile, he was invited in 1940 by the Senate of the National University of Ireland to give a series of lectures in Dublin, Cork and Galway on Greek history—and he chose as the subject of his Dublin lectures the social background of the Old Comedy. Since his return to England he has been working on this new volume, which now appears in the series to which he has already contributed a book on *Alexander and the Greeks*. As in that earlier volume, Dr. Ehrenberg is most interested in the social and political background of Greek intellectual life. For him the small farmer and *petit bourgeois* of Athens and the cities of Asia Minor is as significant as great men of genius like Alexander himself or Aristophanes. Those who would appreciate the wit or lyric poetry of the Attic comedian must look elsewhere. Here they will find, set out in due order and with a very sensitive appreciation of ordinary human life, the various aspects of social and economic life in ancient Athens.

There is no need to repeat the well-known truth that Aristophanes, though writing in the city and for the citizens of Athens, is primarily the poet of Attic rural life. His sympathies were always with the small farmer of the Athens of Pericles : the farmer whose crops were being destroyed by the invading Laconian army and who

was only too willing to believe that Pericles, the all-powerful politician of pre-war days, was to blame for the evils that had come with the declaration of war. Aristophanes shared that view—or at least he was willing to let his audience think that he shared their view. For he was shrewd enough to know that the crowds who thronged the theatre at the Dionysia or Lenaea were in great numbers country farmers, up in the city for the festival and expecting from the city's most popular poet jokes which they were likely to appreciate and bring home to their country farms.

Aristophanes was more than a poet who knew his public. He himself, as a hundred passages in his plays prove, was a lover of the countryside and of all that the country produced. His plays give us an insight into Greek middle-class life, both of the city and the country, that is to be found nowhere else in Greek literature —not even in the surviving inscriptions and monuments of ancient Attica. Dr. Ehrenberg has realised this truth and has made full use of his material. His book is almost a dictionary of daily Attic life in the fifth century. Here you may learn what part women played in an Athenian home (incidentally Dr. Ehrenberg does not believe that women were present in the theatre when the plays of Cratinus or Aristophanes were being presented to a delighted audience) ; how many children you might expect to find in an Attic farmer's home ; what crops were cultivated on an Attic farm (olive, vines and figs were the most profitable, and a farmer whose fruit-trees had yielded a good crop would go to the city " with his mouth full of coppers " to buy corn for his household) ; what part slaves played in the average Greek household, and how they were treated by their Attic masters ; how the older generations were educated, and why their education was despised as old-fashioned by a new and ill-bred, curious and showy younger generation ; what were the main trades of ancient Athens, and how far the small shopowner could combine his activities with a farmer's life ; how far money dominated the Greek world of the fifth century, and whether it be true to say that the Attic citizen of the fourth century was more an " economic man " than his predecessor of the fifth century ; finally what the Attic farmer thought of politics, of the rights and wrongs of this last war, and of the chances of a speedy peace.

As for politicians, it is to be feared that the Attic farmer of the fifth century B.C. had much the same notions of the class as a whole as his Irish successor of the twentieth century. In these days of pre-election speeches I may be pardoned for quoting from Mr. Norwood's admirable translation of one well-known passage in which Aristophanes describes the early stages of a politician's education :—

> " And yes, my word ! I'd other tricks when quite a little fellow.
> The butchers—how I swindled them ! You should have heard me bellow :
> ' Look, boys ! A swallow ! Spring is here. Look ! Seeing is believing.'
> So up they stared, and while they stared, a cutlet I was thieving.
> And nine times out of ten it worked, but at the tenth to save it
> I clapped the meat between my thighs and gave my affidavit.
> A gentleman in public life, who watched this exhibition,
> Exclaimed : ' That lad is bound to rise : he'll make a politician.' "

Aristophanes knew Pericles in his latter days ; but he was more familiar with Cleon. His contempt for that exceedingly able democratic politician has unfairly coloured some of our judgments on Athenian history. But there can be little question as to the success with which the poet caught the prevailing mood of his audience.

An astonishing feature of Athenian life is the freedom with which this satirist of contemporary Athens mocked at his city's war-efforts in the supreme hours of crisis. Few more devastating criticisms of war as war have been written than his *Lysistrate*—the very name of his heroine is the "Army destroyer." Yet the play was produced at Athens in 411 B.C., when Athens was still staggering after the

recent news of the disaster at Syracuse and when her allies were beginning to venture on open revolt. Which of our modern states would permit such license to a poet at such a moment? But Aristophanes knew his Athens and was not afraid to interpret the farmer's longing for peace and the recovery of rural prosperity.

There are glimpses here also of the gardens which made Athens and Attica beautiful in the poet's eyes. We speak of " a bull in a china-shop " and thereby reveal our town-bred prejudices. The Greek, a born gardener, spoke of " a pig among the roses." Yet the Athenian farmer knew that this same pig had his own delightful qualities. " Its meat is delicious," says Plato the comedian: " when you roast a pig, you lose nothing save the mud and the bristles and the squeal." What a pity that the Athenian farmer lacked knowledge of that northern invention—bacon and eggs! And there is another familiar aspect of our Irish farmer's life that is strangely missing from the plays of Attic comedy. Nobody who has seen the Parthenon frieze or almost any collection of Attic vases will doubt the love of Greek horsemen for that miracle of beauty, the Greek horse. Yet there is not a word about betting in these close-printed pages of Dr. Ehrenberg's book. If betting was not a familiar subject for jests in ancient Athens, we can only conclude (however puzzled we may be) that the Greeks were able to love horses and horse-racing without feeling the urge to put a bet on the race.

Perhaps it was the excitement of daily politics that supplied the needed outlet for an occasional flutter. The city was always much nearer to the Athenian farmer than it is to the great majority of Irish farmers. Aristophanes can joke about the dusty, garlic-smelling voter who comes up to the assembly at the last minute and takes his personal share in the proceedings. Such dusty voters were also a goodly proportion of the city's theatre-goers, and that may be why the Attic comedian can count on the familiarity of an allusion to lines from so many of the classic Attic tragedies and comedies. Our modern Irish farmer is less closely in touch with Dublin's theatres. Nor is it easy to name any poet whose verses would be familiar here in Ireland at the most distant allusion—if we except Moore's *Melodies*. Was it perhaps possible in Gaelic-speaking Ireland of pre-famine days to assume a familiar knowledge of Irish poetry and Irish tales? Or was the Greek farmer definitely more intellectual than his Irish successor—just as his Irish successor is unquestionably more deeply and truly religious than his Greek predecessor?

That reflection must come home to the reader of this thought-provoking book. Parish-life, so characteristic of rural Ireland, has perhaps its parallel in the demes of ancient Attica—and Dr. Ehrenberg has been able to collect some useful information on the neighbourly life of " demotai " in the Athenian demes. But there was no parish church to act as focal centre for the parish-life; and the familiar problem of clergy and laity is, of course, absent from this study of the Athenian social background. The small farmer and *petit bourgeois* of ancient Athens, as studied here by this German refugee scholar, seems often astonishingly like our own small farmers and shopkeepers. But there are deep differences of thought and feeling which lie beneath the surface. They explain more than one of the minor and major problems of human life which Dr. Ehrenberg has surveyed in this most learned and painstaking volume.

A. G.

Economics

COMMENTARY ON MISCONCEPTIONS REGARDING MONEY AND BANK CREDIT. By J. P. Colbert. Dublin: Cahill. 1942. 5s.

Mr. Colbert possesses the art of condensation in a remarkable degree. His small book contains more food for reflection than other volumes many times the size. His treatment of monetary topics is divided into two parts: the first general, the

second Irish. The main emphasis in the first part of the book is on the fact, generally recognised by economists today, that the causes of both chronic and cyclical depressions are primarily to be found in the real structure of production. The rôle of money in causing depressions has been exaggerated in many quarters. Mr. Colbert replies to those who are guilty of this exaggeration by indicating the way in which the population and the standard of living in the world have risen in the last century. The various monetary systems that have been adopted during the period have not prevented this rise from taking place.

A second point emphasized is that many people who are desirous of reform are anxious to change the social rather than the monetary system. What is wanted in the modern world is social energizing rather than financial manipulation. Considerable expansion of planning, social services and public works could be achieved without any change in the existing monetary system. Mr. Colbert shows that writers such as Douglas and Soddy argue from the conditions of cyclical depression to conditions in general. These writers fail to explain how booms can take place if society is doomed to chronic under-purchasing power. The fact is that cyclical depressions may be part of the necessary conditions of progress in an individualistic system. They are periods of pause during which the gains of the boom are consolidated.

Mr. Colbert explains very clearly the means by which banks create credit. The distinction between cash and credit is carefully drawn, and it is shown that the initiative in the creation of credit must come from the public rather than from the banks. If the public are not willing to borrow and to hold part of their advances on deposit in the banks the power of credit creation disappears. Mr. Colbert steers a middle course between those who deny the power of banks to create any credit at all and those who allege that the power of credit creation is both unlimited and costless. That the banks can create credit in excess of their cash holdings is of course unquestionable. This power is limited by the necessity for holding a minimum cash ratio and by the limitation of borrowers' demands. The fact that the creation of credit involves banks in costs justifies the payment of interest on bank loans. If such interest were not payable, many of the banking services would not be available to the public who would have, in addition, to pay moneylenders' rates for loans.

Passing from commercial banks to central banks, Mr. Colbert shows that the power of central banks to finance government schemes is usually limited by the pressure on the balance of payments and by the danger of internal inflation. It is shown that the powers of central banks to force expansions or contractions of credit tend to be exaggerated. Open market operations may expand bank cash, but such an expansion need not be immediately followed by an expansion of commercial advances. The influence of changes in the rate of interest on commercial loans also tends to be exaggerated. The possibility of producing internal stability by alterations in the exchange rate is limited. Such a procedure is open to the practical objections that it tends towards progressive currency depreciation and may necessitate a system of exchange control.

In the second part of the book Mr. Colbert deals with Irish conditions. He points out that the Irish monetary and banking systems possess seven peculiarities :—

(1) Ireland is a creditor nation.
(2) The banks operate in two currency areas and two currencies.
(3) The banks have a unique capacity for expanding loans.
(4) Deposits are largely in the nature of savings deposits.
(5) The banks are exceptionally solvent and liquid.
(6) There has been no bank failure in recent years.
(7) Irish wholesale prices tend to vary with British in a close relationship.

Consideration of these peculiarities leads Mr. Colbert to the following conclusions :—

" From the above it would appear that in Eire there was no necessity for retrenchment towards extreme national parsimony, on the one hand, or for resort to unorthodox monetary expedients, on the other hand ; that there has been no problem in Eire of reconstruction of a broken-down currency or banking system ; that social control of the banks for the purpose of protection of note holders and depositors was unnecessary ; that the argument for social control of banking based on the essential illiquidity of modern banking systems has little substance as applied to Eire ; that in any proposed change account must be taken of the fact that it might add a financial schism to the existing political cleavage as between Eire and Northern Ireland ; and that the general level of wholesale prices in Eire was normally dependent on prices ruling in Great Britain to a degree that probably obtained as between no other two countries."

Mr. Colbert gives an admirable historical summary of the growth of Irish banking especially in recent years. He is rather critical of the hundred per cent sterling cover required by the Currency Act of 1927, but approves of the Act in every other respect. He indicates that no central bank could control credit in Eire as long as the banks possess sterling assets in anything like their present quantity. In any event there is no need for such control. The Bank of England is shown to have no power to enforce either an expansion or contraction of credit in the country. The only central banking functions performed by the Bank of England in Eire are that it acts as a clearing house for inter-bank claims and that its bank rate is voluntarily accepted by the Irish banks as the basis of their rate structure. Mr. Colbert argues strongly against any change in the present parity with sterling. One of the few points in his argument with which the present reviewer disagrees is the statement that the Irish pound cannot be over-valued so long as the exchange rate is not varied. This opinion is not in accordance with the view expressed in the Banking Commission. Mr. Colbert argues that the demand in certain quarters for exchange control is aimed at social rather than monetary objectives. None of these objectives, he alleges, could be attained by such control. The development of national resources, in so far as it is retarded, is held up by lack of social enthusiasm and energy rather than by monetary difficulties. The last point in the book is perhaps the most contentious, namely, that a substantial portion of Irish external assets could be repatriated without producing an adverse effect on the balance of payments. It is possible that, on this subject, Mr. Colbert's praiseworthy practice of condensation has led him to omit some qualifications to his conclusion and that, in consequence, he appears to have overstated his case. G. O'B.

History

CATHOLICISM AND SCOTLAND. By Compton Mackenzie. London : Routledge. 1936. 5s.

JAMES I. King of Scots (1406-1437). By E. W. M. Balfour-Melville. London : Methuen. 1936. 15s.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN MODERN SCOTLAND. By Peter F. Anson. London : Burns Oates. 1937. 7s. 6d.

REFLECTIONS OF THE ISLE OF BARRA. By Donald Buchanan. London : Sands. 1942. 7s. 6d.

These four books have appeared at intervals during the past six years, but they have the same tradition of Catholic Scotland for their theme. That fact must be our excuse for considering them briefly in a common review. Scottish history and

Scottish traditions have been sorely neglected in this country. Perhaps one or other of these volumes may stir some Irish reader to do something for the revival of interest in our neighbour's romantic story.

Mr. Compton Mackenzie needs no introduction. His book on *Catholicism and Scotland* was planned originally as a book on *Jacobitism and Scotland;* but with characteristic courage Mr. Mackenzie decided at the last moment to alter the title and thus, inevitably, to alter the significance of his challenge to Scots readers. His preface is dated from the Isle of Barra in 1935—a year which was marked by demonstrations of almost incredible savagery and bigotry against the revival of Catholic worship in Edinburgh. Mr. Mackenzie felt the insult to his own sense of Scotland's greatest traditions, and there is a manly indignation in this statement of what to him is the core of Scottish history.

His story begins briefly with the Gaelic era, of which he plainly knows little in detail but which appeals to his sense of historic continuity. Thence he passes swiftly to the Norman Conquest of England and the coming of St. Margaret to Scotland. Was this saintly English Queen of Scotland the first of a long line of rulers and statesmen who have betrayed their trust? Mr. Mackenzie's defence of St. Margaret is reasoned and well-balanced; his ultimate argument is of interest to Irish readers. Scotland, he holds, was able to maintain her national traditions through the confusion of the Middle Ages owing to the permanent symbol of unity that was given the country by a royal family, representative alike of the Gaelic Highlands and the Lowland Scots. "The failure of the Irish Royal House to achieve a comparable status of royalty that was recognised beyond Ireland was not the least important of the causes that contributed to the success of the Angevin conquest in destroying the outward appearance of a nation, powerless though it may have been to damage the substance of nationality." But Scotland's dependence on the symbolic value of an independent royal family was to prove a danger in later ages. "The vitality of the Irish nation in the twentieth century, which makes every Scots patriot blush with shame, may be partially ascribed to Ireland's lack of obligation to any king in the maintenance of that national spirit."

From this opening chapter Mr. Mackenzie passes rapidly through the main phases of later Scottish history. He has less to say about the origin of the Lowland Scots tradition than might be expected in a general survey of his country's history; but he brings out clearly and vividly the contribution of an unbroken line of Stuart kings in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to the national consciousness of the land as a whole. On the fatal marriage with the Tudor sister of Henry VIII—that mingling of "the black Tudor blood" with good Stuart blood—he has much to say that might be expected from the author; and his account of the origins of Knox's Presbyterian movement is vigorous and outspoken. So also is his account of the persecution of the Catholic missionaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; but the story petres out suddenly towards the close, and we are brought abruptly from the penal laws to the revival of Protestant bigotry in Edinburgh of 1935.

Mr. Balfour-Melville approaches his subject with very different training and outlook. Here is the accomplished scholar, meticulously careful to get all his dates right and to quote none but contemporary sources for his narrative. His subject-matter is limited to the life of a King of Scotland who was murdered at the age of thirty-one, but who left a permanent mark on Scots history. Had James I been granted the normal span of human life, there is no doubt at all that his country would have benefited beyond calculation from the rule of a King who was both just and strong. But the curse of medieval Scotland was the factious and treacherous spirit of her nobles, and James I fell a victim to their jealousy of his power and popularity. Every detail of his short reign is studied in this admirable monograph—and the complicated story of his captivity in youth and the negotiations that secured

his release in 1424 are included in the tale. Scotland's King inaugurated a policy that made Scotland a factor in international diplomacy, and Popes like Martin V and Eugenius IV figure in the story no less than Henry V of England and Margaret of France. Ireland appears only once in a brief mention that two of the King's rebellious subjects took refuge in this country in 1425. Mr. Balfour-Melville has not interested himself in those contacts between Irish chieftains and Scottish mercenary troops which have been recently illuminated by Dr. Hayes-MacCoy. But his book must rank as an important monograph on the ablest and most romantic of Scotland's Stuart kings.

Mr. Anson owes most of his information to the loan of notebooks which were placed at his disposal by Dr. Bennett, Bishop of Aberdeen. More than one Irish scholar has discovered from painful experience that the documents preserved in Blairs College are not yet available for stray research-workers from this country. Dr. Bennett had filled his private notebook with materials for the biographies of Scotland's Vicars Apostolic and Bishops during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This valuable material forms the substance of Mr. Anson's volume, though he has not failed to make full use of such works as Major Hay's volume on *The Blairs Papers;* Mgr. Ritchie's *Reflections of Scottish Church History;* and Fr. Forbes Leith's *Narratives of Scottish Catholics* and *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the 17th and 18th Centuries.* Mr. Anson has thus produced an indispensable book of reference for all students of modern Catholic history in Scotland; but I must confess that I have found his volume disappointing as a readable and continuous narrative. The year 1878 has been taken as a dividing line. District by district is surveyed for the earlier period, when Vicars Apostolic ruled the Church as in England during the penal period. The same principle is then applied to the more recent period when the earlier Eastern, Northern and Western Districts were divided among two archdioceses and four dioceses. Such a system makes it easy to find what may be wanted for any one person or place; but the average reader will lack a clue to the general drift of the narrative as a whole. And there is no effort to tell the tale of some of the more romantic and heroic figures; for Scotland lacked neither martyrs nor confessors in those bad days.

Dr. Buchanan's account of life on the Isle of Barra is by far the most attractive volume of the four which I have grouped together in this review. The author was a native of Barra, who practised in London as a doctor and founded the Catholic Caledonian Association there. He died last January and lies buried in Barra. By a singular coincidence he tells the story of the island in the Outer Hebrides which has been for many years Mr. Compton Mackenzie's home. Mr. Mackenzie would no doubt have given us a book of higher literary value, for Dr. Buchanan is modest in his aims and style. But he loves every inch of the island, and he knows all that one would wish him to know about the islanders of Barra. There is a brief introductory note on the island's site and geography. Then a short survey of the little that is known of its history from the days of Scandinavian occupation to modern times. A longer chapter on " The Religion of Barra " has a special interest for Catholic readers. Dr. Buchanan rightly insists that no survey of the island would be comprehensive unless it placed the religion of the islanders in the centre of their lives. There is much here about the religious history of the island, with two remarkable reports sent home to St. Vincent de Paul by Father Duggan, the Limerick Vincentian priest who laboured on Barra during the saint's lifetime. But Dr. Buchanan is at his best when he seeks to interpret the essence of the religion of these islanders to modern Scottish readers who have lost that vivid sense of the supernatural which means so much today, as it has always meant, in the Gaelic tradition.

There are other chapters on the industries and crafts of the islanders, their education, language and literature, their games and recreations, their politics and a final section on "Barra's Reaction to Modern Ideologies." Here an islander of Barra is writing from the fulness of his heart and from the fulness of his knowledge. The very names of the islanders whom he knew and questioned as to their beliefs and hopes and ideals read like a litany of Gaelic tradition. "I often lament the fact," he writes in his first chapter, "that my fascination for local history was not so acute when a rich store of knowledge was available to me during the lives of Archibald McLean (Gilleasbuig Neill), Michael Buchanan (Michael Neill Bhain), Mairi Neill Mhic Iain Bhain and others." But the dead have had their successors. "Any of the songs of Calum Ruadh McKinnon would probably sound very ordinary if sung by the average Gaelic radio singer, but how delightful they all sounded as rendered by that charming native elocutionist in his own inimitable way. It was the same perfect native flexible enunciation of their language which made Roderick McKinnon (Ruairaidh-Iain-Bhain) and the late Donald McKinnon (Domhull a Mhoragain) such a delight to an audience of fellow islemen; every syllable was chiselled in its utterance."

That last quotation is from a chapter that begins with an account of the Ceileidh as an institution in the life of Barra, and that includes a section on "Swearing as a Fine Art" as exemplified by Iain-Chalum-Thalair in his narrative of a storm-tossed funeral from Eriskay to South Uisk. Here surely is a book not to be neglected by our own young students of Gaelic traditions in Ireland. When shall we have a Lecturer in Scottish Gaelic in at least one of our University Colleges? A. G.

THE SECOND SPRING: 1818-1852. By Denis Gwynn. London: Burns Oates. 1942. 9s.

CARDINAL CONSALVI and ANGLO-PAPAL RELATIONS: 1814-1824. Washington: Catholic University of America. 1942. $2.50.

MR. GWYNN has given us a most readable and convenient account of that astonishing movement of Catholic revival in England, which culminates in the restoration of the English hierarchy and Newman's most famous sermon which gives its title to this book. All students of that movement are familiar with the series of full-sized biographies in which a succession of distinguished Catholic writers—most of them laymen—have described the careers of Wiseman, Newman, Manning, Ullathorne, Pugin and the other remarkable converts of that brilliant early Victorian generation. Here for the first time we can read the story, from first to last, as a continuous narrative—and an amazingly vital story it is. Mr. Gwynn has the great advantage that most of the men about whom he is writing were masters of that lost art, letter-writing in the Victorian style. His pages are filled with quotations from letters and reminiscences that are most quotable, and well worth quoting. But he has also the general sense of background and proportion that is needed for a study of this kind, and it is plain that he himself has enjoyed the making of this book. England today is not so unlike the England of a hundred years ago from the viewpoint of Catholic propaganda. The number of converts has added steadily to the Catholic population, and the Irish immigrant contribution has now risen to a new peak, comparable to the inflow of the 'thirties and 'forties. But there remains, now as then, the overwhelming mass of the English people, now less rural than they were in the Victorian age, but hardly less ignorant of all that is meant by Catholic tradition. This story of what men and women did for the Catholic cause a hundred years ago is thus a challenge to our contemporaries across the Channel. The book has been written in that spirit, and in that spirit it should be read.

Very rightly Mr. Gwynn begins his story with the reopening of the English

College in Rome in 1818. Young Nicholas Wiseman was one of the small band of students who made the adventurous journey to Rome and who found a College that had been partly ruined during the storms of the Napoleonic era. He had been a student at Ushaw for some years before that date, and Lingard—who published the first volume of his *History of England* in 1818—had been one of his Professors in the northern seminary. These are great names ; and it is fascinating to watch the first faint signs of the revival in England, with the two early Cambridge converts Ambrose Lisle Phillipps and Kenelm Digby, both of whom were inevitably attracted to the new centre of English Catholic life in Rome. Here also the future Passionist, Father Ignatius Spencer, then George Spencer, a recent convert to the Faith, came into touch with the most picturesque of all the pioneer workers in these first early days of the Second Spring.

One of the consolations that sometimes come to a weary student of history is the consciousness that new light has really been thrown on one of the major movements with which he is concerned, even though the details of his own research work seem arid enough and inconclusive. Such a consolation must have come to the modern historian of the English Passionist Fathers when he discovered some years ago a series of letters sent home to his friends in Italy from England by Father Dominic Barberi, the Italian missionary priest who received Newman into the Church on October 9, 1845.[1] Here is a typically Italian figure : fervent, emotional, convinced for years before the opportunity came to him that he had a personal vocation from God to work for the conversion of England, incurably optimistic in the years of waiting and planning, but shrewd and practical and heroically patient when the hour came for actual work on the mission-field. Believers in God's Providence have no difficulty in understanding why it was that this young Italian priest, who at the time knew not a word of English and had no gift for learning languages, was chosen by his Superior to instruct an elderly English (or rather Cornish) convert, Sir Harry Trelawney, in preparation for his first Mass in the English College at Rome.

All this took place many years before Newman had any thought of a possible surrender to Rome, before the publication of even the first of the famous " Tracts for the Times." As the story advances, the stage widens and new *dramatis personæ* appear on the scene : Pugin, the impossibly eccentric champion of a neo-Gothic revival, Manning in his Sussex rectory, Gladstone in the days of his early friendship with Manning, Ullathorne as a young Benedictine priest just back from the horrors of Botany Bay and Norfolk Island ; and finally (almost a new figure in his later rôle) Nicholas Wiseman, now Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster and the central figure—organising, planning and stimulating what had now become a nation-wide movement towards Rome.

As might be expected, Mr. Gwynn has a good deal to say about the contribution of the Irish emigrants, refugees from pre-famine Ireland and from the famine itself, to this astonishing revival. Father Dominic Barberi and his Passionist fellow-missionaries knew them well in every city that they visited. So did Gentili and his fellow-Rosminians. But I cannot resist the temptation of quoting from Wiseman's famous reply to the storm of Protestant indignation that Lord John Russell had evoked in the controversy concerning the " Papal Aggression." The Cardinal's courage in that crisis surprised his best friends and gave him a new standing in the public life of England. Here is what he said in reply to the charge that he was assuming to himself the dignities of the Anglican Dean and Chapter of Westminster ; his words are revealing as an indication of what those Irish immigrants

(1) Urban Young, C. P. : *Venerable Dominic Barberi in England.* London : Burns Oates, 1935.

had to face and of the heroic constancy that enabled them to preserve their faith, in spite of many lapses, in such degrading surroundings :—

" The diocese, indeed, of Westminster embraces a large district ; but Westminster proper consists of two very different parts. One comprises the stately Abbey, with its adjacent palaces and its royal parks. To this portion the duties and occupation of the Dean and Chapter are mainly confined ; and they shall range there undisturbed. . . . . For there is another part which stands in frightful contrast, though in immediate contact with this magnificence. Close under the Abbey of Westminster there lie concealed labyrinths of lanes and courts, and alleys and slums, nests of ignorance, vice, depravity and crime, as well as of squalour, wretchedness and disease ; whose atmosphere is typhus, whose ventilation is cholera ; in which swarms a huge and almost countless population, in great measure, nominally at least, Catholic ; haunts of filth, which no sewage committee can reach—dark corners which no lighting-board can brighten. This is the part of Westminster which alone I covet, and which I shall be glad to claim and visit, as a blessed pasture in which sheep of Holy Church are to be tended, in which a bishop's godly work has to be done, of consoling, converting and preserving."

Very different from this background is the picture of Anglo-Papal diplomacy which Father Ellis has drawn for us from contemporary documents concerning Cardinal Consalvi and his English " opposite-number " in these negotiations, Viscount Castlereagh. There is, of course, a direct connection between the two worlds, remote from one another though they may seem at first. For the prestige which Consalvi's diplomacy won for the Holy See in the Restoration era is one of the factors that must be counted as a preparation for the revival that came from very different sources of spiritual power. A full biography of the Cardinal—who had been Secretary of State to Pius VII from 1800-1806, who was then forced into retirement by Napoleon for the next eight years, but who was summoned to the Curia by the Pope immediately after Napoleon's fall in 1814, and who directed papal diplomacy for the next ten years—is an obvious lacuna in our literature concerning the Church in the nineteenth century.

Father Ellis has been unfortunate in the moment that he has chosen for the publication of this monograph. To quote his Preface : " It had been the intention of the writer to consult the unpublished materials in the Vatican Archives and in the Public Record Office in London, but the outbreak of the war in September 1939 made that impossible." As a substitute for the fuller and more authentic study that he had planned, he has issued this short monograph which is based mainly on the printed *Correspondence* of Viscount Castlereagh and on such works as Father Rinieri's *Il Congresso di Vienna e la Santa Sede* (1904). For Irish readers if must be confessed that the result is disappointing. Consalvi was intimately concerned with the negotiations that followed the famous Quarantotti incident on the vexed problem of the Veto. Father Ellis gives a graphic account of the confusion into which the Papal Curia had been thrown in the summer of 1814, when Mgr. Quarantotti, an elderly Vice-Prefect of Propaganda, was for the moment in charge of Anglo-Papal affairs. But it is not so easy to explain away some of the concessions that the Cardinal was willing to make in his desire to negotiate a permanent settlement with the English Government, and one feels at every turn the lack of more authentic documentation. Consalvi and Castlereagh had been working in harmony for a common purpose in many of the problems that confronted the statesmen assembled at the Congress of Vienna, and it was natural that the Cardinal Secretary of State should have been eager to push his advantage home at a time when English Catholics were beginning to emerge from the era of the Penal Laws. But the English Catholic laity, headed by Charles Butler, were prepared to make concessions that the more clear-sighted O'Connell rejected emphatically and from the first.

A full study of this important episode in Anglo-Papal relations has yet to be made by a competent scholar. Father Ellis, who has already done useful work on various aspects of English Catholic history and who is now Assistant Professor of History in the Catholic University of America, seems marked out for work of this kind. Let us hope that the opportunity denied to him in 1939 may be opened again after the war. Once again to quote his Preface: "It is to be hoped that when the din of battle has died away and Europe has returned to a normal state, the archives of Rome and London may yield the answers to some of these questions." Meanwhile he has given us a very useful and competent piece of work, in which modern literature on the post-Napoleonic years of the Restoration has been utilised to fill in the background for a picture that has yet to be worked out in detail.

P. D.

DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1938. Vol. I. Edited by Monica Curtis. 1942. 35s. net.
INDIA. By T. A. Raman. 1942. 3s. 6d. net.
THE INDIAN PROBLEM, 1833—1935. By R. Coupland. 1942. 6s. net. Oxford University Press. London: Milford.

STUDENTS of international affairs will need no introduction to the first of these works, which is one of a well-known series published every year since 1920. The present volume, delayed by the war, contains both official public documents and speeches by leading statesmen, and covers all countries. Irish students will be specially interested in the Anglo-Irish Agreements of April 1938, of which the full texts are given with extracts from relevant speeches by Mr. de Valera and Mr. Chamberlain. The documents relating to the annexation of Austria and the German-Czechoslovak crisis are reserved for volume II, which has not yet appeared.

Mr. Raman's little book is well worthy of inclusion in the excellent "World Today" series. He has succeeded in packing a wonderful amount of clear information into a hundred and twenty or so pages, and the book contains a useful map as well as a series of interesting, if small, photographs. The whole history of India, down to the rejection of the Cripps proposals, is skilfully sketched, and Mr. Raman even succeeds in throwing some light on the enigma of Mahatma Gandhi. Like many educated Indians, he tends to take a very easy view of Indian paganism and, in explaining the outlook of the average peasant, indulges in some airy comparisons between Mariamma the small-pox goddess and St. Lucia.

Professor Coupland's book is the first part of a report submitted to Nuffield College on the constitutional problem in India. Students will welcome it heartily as a convenient introduction to a question which seems to grow ever more complex. Its purpose is to describe the development of Indian self-government since the Charter Act introduced by Macaulay in 1833 and the concomitant process of decentralisation down to the Government of India Act, 1935, which established the present federal constitution. The second part will deal with the working of the 1935 Act, and the third will contain a series of constructive suggestions for the future. The author indulges in a brief comparison between the quarrel of Unionists and Nationalists in Ulster and that of Hindus and Moslems in India. The analogy, as he rather ironically remarks, could easily be pressed too far. In fact it may be said scarcely to exist in any particularly valid sense. For one thing, the Moslems were not introduced into India by British policy, nor has Moslem power as yet been established over a carefully delimited Hindu minority, nor does anything quite like the link between the Orange Order and the English Conservative party exist in India. Such a comparison, indeed, is much more likely to darken than to enlighten the Indian mind.

M. T.

ANALECTA HIBERNICA. No. 12—January 1943. Dublin: Stationery Office. 7s. 6d.

THIS latest volume published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission is an example of the splendid work being done by that body in providing source-material for the use of historians and students. Its contents are of a miscellaneous nature, ranging over various period of our history from the annals of Nenagh in the fourteenth century and the letters of Sir John Perrot in the reign of Elizabeth to the records of the Cork Augustinian Order in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The letters of Lord Deputy Perrot occupy about one-third of the volume and help to illuminate the tangled Ireland of the time. Perrot stands out in a not unpleasing contrast with the horde of grasping foreign officials in Elizabethan Ireland, though, as the chief instrument of a ruthless government, he was guilty of not a few barbarous deeds. The *Four Masters,* however, praise him and write of the lamentations of the poor on his departure from Ireland in 1573 when he was president of Munster. And one remembers that when his chief adversary there, the chivalrous James FitzMaurice, greatest of the Geraldines, was slandered by English writers and officials without exception, he was described by Perrot as " a man very valiant, politic and learned as any rebel hath been for many years."

Perrot's letters in this volume of the *Analecta* cover the years 1584 and 1585 when he had returned to Ireland as Lord Deputy. In one of the earliest of them he proposes a scheme for the conversion of St. Patrick's cathedral into a much-needed law court and the allocation of its revenues to the founding of a university. The latter, needless to say, had for its object the " reformation " of religion, which " would rather be taught than forced." " Here is," he writes to London, " in this little city 2 great Cathedrals (St. Patrick and Christ), richly endowed and too near each other for any good they do . . . St. Patrick serveth to none other use but for a few singing men and 3 mean preachers residents." His proposal was, however, strongly opposed by the notorious archbishop Loftus, whose attitude towards it draws on him from Perrot a violent personal attack. " The ungodly gain," writes the Lord Deputy, " that this archbishop doth suck out of that church to pamper up himself, his children and friends, is so sweet as he cannot endure any man to look towards it." Eventually the proposal fell through, and it was not till five years later that Trinity College was founded.

During his tenure of office as Lord Deputy, Perrot's name is particularly associated with the completion of the " Composition of Connaught." This was a scheme by which the English queen should receive from the lords and chieftains of that province a quit rent out of all arable and pasture lands in lieu of former irregular assessments, and they should receive titles, valid at English law, to the lands which they ruled. (The Irish Manuscripts Commission has already published a volume entitled *The Composicion Book of Conought*—as well as the *Index* to the same—which embodies the proceedings of the Commissioners for the Composition in 1585). Unlike that of other Lord Deputies of the period, Perrot's object was not the extirpation of the native chiefs—the poet Spenser, indeed, one will remember, attacks him because " he did tread down and disgrace all the English and set up and countenance the Irish all he could." In his other schemes for what he considered reforms he was continuously at loggerheads with the various parties and interests of the Pale. Numerous complaints regarding his régime were accordingly sent to Elizabeth and, much disillusioned, he begs in letter after letter to be recalled from Ireland. " I beseech you," he writes in January 1586 to Walsingham, " help to spede my revocation hence and turn me to anie service sea or land." And a week later he again writes: " I must confesse I was somewhat deceived in this

people, whom I thought to drawe in by gentle means, just to conceive of me to be such a one as I was, that wholie studied and ment their good."

Of equal interest and value with the letters of Perrot in the *Analecta* are *The O'Kane Papers*, which occupy more than sixty of its pages. Their most distinctive feature is the Survey of the bishopries of Derry, Raphoe and Clogher in the early seventeenth century just previous to the flight of the Earls. The Survey is ascribed to George Montgomery, a Scotchman who was one of the imported Protestant bishops of the time. It gives a detailed list of the Catholic churches and chapels in the deanery of Derry and in Raphoe, as well as the names of rectors and vicars with their literary attainments and characters. It is a valuable document insomuch as it presents definite information of the Irish Church before it fell on evil days with the Plantation of Ulster. A characteristic of practically all the priests, mentioned by name, was that they spoke Irish, English and Latin. In *The O'Kane Papers*, too, are Bishop Bramhall's Replies to Queries raised by Commissioners concerning the Temporalities of Derry diocese. Among other matters of current interest discussed by Bramhall is the contentious question of the episcopal rights to fisheries, &c. Thus he claims his rights to the fishing of Balliscullenbegge, because " the universelle custome of the Irish was that in fresh waters and loughs as this being about 20 miles above any flowing of the Sea, They who possessed the lands on one side had halfe the fishings, They who possessed the lands on both sides had the intire fishings."

The remaining sections which make up this number of the *Analecta* are of varied interest—*Manuscripts at Kilboy, Co. Tipperary, The Annals of Nenagh, Augustiniana Corcagiae* (1746—1834), and *Unpublished Letters of King James V of Scotland relating to Ireland*. The volume ends with tributes to two late distinguished members of the Irish Manuscripts Commission, Edward Gwynn and Father Paul Walsh, whose deaths have been an irreparable loss to Irish scholarship. R. H.

THE KENMARE MANUSCRIPTS. Edited by Edward MacLysaght, M.A., M.R.I.A. Dublin : Stationery Office. 1942. Pp. 517. 30s.

Mr. MacLysaght provides us, in this well-produced volume of something over 500 pages, with a work the publication of which has been awaited with interest since word that it was in preparation first appeared in the press. It is a report on the papers and records belonging to Lord Kenmare, whose kindness in making them available for examination and publication earns for him a genuine tribute of appreciation and thanks. A note on the history of Lord Kenmare's family, as a necessary background to the papers that follow, is fittingly supplied in the introduction to the book and is of no small interest in itself. But it is not easy to be in complete agreement with Mr. MacLysaght in all that he says there—at least with regard to the ready acceptance of Lord Kenmare's title during penal days despite its technical invalidity. What of the fact that, as late as 1758, he was subjected to the indignity of having the armorial bearings on his carriage—the same carriage perhaps to which reference is made on p. 65—erazed in the very Castle yard? But this is by the way. A study of the book before us shows that its editor brought to the task assigned him by the Manuscripts Commission a large measure of personal interest and enthusiasm. He has done his work well and, from the ill-assorted array of documents with which he was confronted, has compiled in a minimum of time a painstaking and useful calendar.

The work—as all works of the kind are by their nature almost inevitably destined to be—is at once satisfying and dissatisfying : satisfying in that it supplies us with various historical records unavailable to scholars hitherto ; unsatisfying in that we cannot quite escape a feeling that some things at least which might have had an interest for us have had to be left out. Mr. MacLysaght more than once hints

(pp. 92, 98, 288) that the space and time at his disposal were hard task-masters. Traces of their baneful influence are perhaps discernible in the somewhat unsatisfying index with which the book is provided; the lack of any system of numeration in regard to the letters and documents embodied in it and the undue abbreviation of certain of its entries. A letter, for example (p. 13), bears the following note: "Evidently the letter of a Catholic," though there is nothing whatever in the published extract to support this conclusion.

In various Rentals and a Book of Observations of the 4th Viscount Kenmare—the transcription of which must have been a particularly laborious task—much light is thrown on the administration of the Kenmare estates, mainly during the 18th century, and a considerable amount of useful material for local history is supplied. But among the documents contained in the book there is little of wider historical interest. The range of correspondents whose letters have come down through the years is on the whole uninspiring, even disappointing. The Da Cunha letters themselves by which special store has been set, though undoubtedly worth preserving, contain little information of lasting value. Their personal interest itself is the less for the lack of any corresponding letters from Lord Kenmare to Madame Da Cunha. However no responsibility for this, obviously, attaches to their present editor, who is rather to be praised for what he has done than blamed for defects which it was not in his power to remedy. C. O'C.

ENGLISH LITERATURE

CATHOLICISM AND ENGLISH LITERATURE. By Edward Hutton. London: Frederick Muller. 1942. 8s. 6d. net.

AT the outset of this remarkable book the author joins issue with the average historian of English literature in contesting its continuity. "English literature," he writes, "began and for a thousand years continued as a Catholic thing, but its continuity, unassailable till then through all sorts of material changes, was utterly broken by the change of religion in the sixteenth century." He further joins issue with Cardinal Newman himself and that on two counts. As against Newman's well-known dictum, "Anyhow we cannot undo the past, English literature will ever *have been* Protestant," he points to the fact that English literature was Catholic for a thousand years and that all its sources are Catholic. Indeed this entire book may be taken as modifying, if not refuting, that dictum. Then, as against Newman's concept of what constitutes Catholic literature, he sets his own—viz., that Catholic literature is "a general literature of Poetry, Prose, Drama, History, Romance, and so forth, that is the product and expression of a Catholic culture and civilization."

Having premised thus much, Mr. Hutton reviews English literature from Beowulf to our own days from a definitely Catholic standpoint. The resulting picture is something very different from that to which we are accustomed. I have hitherto met with nothing like it.

The title of the first chapter is significant—"The New Romanization of Britain." He has not, by the way, much use for the Celts as Christians or as apostles of Christianity in England. He might with profit read a pamphlet by Father George O'Neill, S.J., *Ireland as the Teacher of England and Scotland*, or the elaborate work by Benedict Fitzpatrick *Ireland and the Making of Britain* [1] However that is, from Mr. Hutton's point of view, a minor issue. He rightly, of course, insists on the thorough Roman Catholicism of the church founded by St. Augustine of Canterbury, in which the Celtic Christianity of Britain became finally merged. "Thus then was civilization, first established in Britain by the Roman Empire, re-established

[1] *The Celtic Church in England after the Synod of Whitby.* By John L. Gough Meissner. (London: Hopkinson, 1929); at least for the facts.

and refounded in England by the Catholic and Roman Church. And if we cast our eyes in a brief review over the long story of the expression of that civilization in English literature, we shall see at once how completely Catholic it is " (p. 16).

Mr. Hutton gives a brief but significant chapter to the English writers in Latin, some of whom were known far and wide throughout Europe of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Then there were the " exquisite and magical " lyrics of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, the great epic works of Langland and Chaucer, and the mass of ballads of which he says : " There is scarce a single ballad in all the vast number of English ballad-songs . . . which is not Catholic." English prose from Alfred to Richard Rolle and Walter Hilton, and so on to Sir John Mandeville and Sir Thomas Malory and St. Thomas More, was no less Catholic in spirit and outlook.

Coming to the post-Reformation period, Mr. Hutton has a chapter on Shakespeare, the Book of Common Prayer, and the English Bible in which he points out their heavy debts to Roman and English Catholicism. Shakespeare, if not a Catholic himself, was of Catholic parentage and wrote for audiences altogether of the Catholic culture and largely of the Catholic faith still. The Book of Common Prayer is largely a translation of the Roman Breviary. While the famous " Authorized Version " of the Bible, besides being a translation of a book belonging to the Catholic Church, owes much to the Catholic Rheims-Doway version which was published before it.

The next chapter is on " Milton and the Watershed between the Catholic and Protestant Civilizations." This fresh analysis of Milton from a Catholic point of view is of great interest. Of particular value is the long chapter on the neglected Catholic poets and other writers in Tudor and Stuart and Hanoverian times—not only Southwell and Crashaw, Dryden and Pope, but Lodge and Constable, Massinger and Beaumont, Shirley and Davenant and Habington.

Part II is a study of Catholicism in the English novel, in which Mr. Hutton brings out the sympathy or ignorance or hostile prejudice—as the case may be—of many famous writers when dealing with Catholicism and Catholics. Here our author gives evidence of exceptionally wide reading and quotes very interesting passages from novel after novel from *Robinson Crusoe* through Scott, Dickens, and Thackeray to Trollope and Borrow, Kingsley, Disraeli, Blackmore, and Meredith.

Part III is a brief study of the Catholic Revival in England, with a general conclusion entitled " To-day and To-morrow." The first three chapters of this part are concerned respectively with the conversion of Dryden whom he vindicates against all charges of insincerity, the conversion of Gibbon which was quite genuine though his faith was afterwards filched from him, and the conversion of Newman.

Mr. Hutton's conclusions (hardly pleasant reading either for Catholics or Protestants) are of intense interest and deserve consideration not only on their own merits but because of this writer's standing as author of some thirty-five works of history, literary criticism, art, and travel. S. J. B.

The Irish Countryside

IRISH HERITAGE. By E. Estyn Evans. Dundalk : Dundalgan Press. 1942. Pp. 190. 8s. 6d. net.

AT SLIEVE GULLION'S FOOT. By Michael J. Murphy. Dundalk : Dundalgan Press. 1940. Pp. 115 3s. 6d. net.

These two charming books dealing with Irish country life have more in common than fine paper and printing and the exquisite artistry of their photographs. They cover what is largely the same ground from different points of view. Dr. Evans,

as becomes a University Professor, treats the culture of the rural areas as if it were an object of strictly scientific study. He begins, therefore, with the geographical and geological backgrounds—our place as an island outpost projecting into the Atlantic from the European mainland; our climate, modified beneficently by the Gulf Stream, yet so moist that it favours the growth of grass rather than of wheat; the lack of coal and iron; the presence of immense bogs of peat. Then comes a detailed description of crops and animals, of fields, fences and gates, of villages and booleys, of the construction and interior fittings of the farmhouse (a subject that had already attracted the attention of Colm O'Lochlainn, Professor S. P. O'Riordan, Ake Campbell and others) of outhouses, farm implements, carts, and roads, wood, skin, straw and rush work in the service of the home, of seed time, harvest, bog and sea-shore methods, of festivals and fairs, customs and beliefs. The material and social environment in which the countryman lives and works is extraordinarily complicated and varied. Indeed the farmer who reads this book will be as astonished as M. Jourdain was when he discovered that he had always been speaking prose.

To how many would it occur, for instance, that a number of the implements now used on the land have an ancestry that dates back to prehistoric times? It is well known that the spade takes different forms, but who would believe that a Galway factory not so long ago was turning out nearly 150 varieties of blade? Few reflect that the ass, like the potato, is a comparative newcomer in Irish fields. Those who have travelled or lived abroad will find it easy to assent to the view that Ireland belongs to the " two-wheeled " rather than to the " four-wheeled " cultural region, though visitors to our towns during former electoral contests might have their doubts about the assertion. Philosophers may ruminate on the fact that in the Irish house the fireside is the focus of life, the symbol of hospitality, the centre of social activities, whereas in the corresponding English house the fireside yields this distinction to the table.

The most important question raised by Dr. Evans is that of the ancient prevalence of villages as distinct from isolated farms. His theory is that the people in general lived in house-clusters, surrounded by small walled gardens and haggards, and provided with arable land in the shape of a large unenclosed area, in which each holder had his allotted patch. When the crops were sown, the cattle had to be kept at a distance—by tether, spancel or herd, or by removal (a custom still common in Switzerland and Spain) to summer pastures among the hills. Here the young people, or the whole people of the village, established a " booley " or summer hill dwelling. Dr. Evans believes that this system was established not only in Donegal and Antrim, where he was able to make a special study of it, but in almost all other parts of Ireland as well. In winter the cattle were driven back and allowed to wander over the whole townland.

Dr. Evans is inclined to think that the enclosing of lands, with its natural consequence in hedges and walled fields, is no more than a century or so old. Difficulties in the way of this thesis at once suggest themselves. If the custom were widespread, its place in rural tradition should still be vivid, which it certainly is not. The " house-clusters " of families bound together by ties of blood are so different from English and Continental villages that the explanation of them is probably to be found in the expansion of a single family upon its own limited area of land. Thus, when villagers in Donegal in 1802 were " dispersing daily into separate habitations and holdings," they would be reverting to the common Irish type of rural settlement. This again would explain the haphazard, slovenly character of so many of our villages: in the Irish way of thinking they were an unnatural growth to which the people were not attached and in which they took no pride. Nor should the documentary evidence dealing with the enclosure of lands be over-

looked. In the " Compert Conculainn," for instance, which according to Thurneysen " zu unsern œltesten Denkmalern gehœrt " (HKS. 268), ditches, fences and stone walls were built in the reign of the sons of Aed Sláine (Diarmait and Blathmac, who were joint High-Kings, 653-665). Copious and strong evidence in the contrary sense would have to be adduced before the traditional concept of Ireland as " one of the best European examples of the dispersed type of habitation " could properly be abandoned.

Mr. Murphy's book deals with the countryside dominated by Slieve Gullion (the ancient and far-famed Sliab Cuilind), Co. Armagh, but this area in its spirit, its crafts, its wake and wedding customs, its sports, its superstitions, its folklore, is an Ireland in miniature. The author's homely description of the district and its people makes attractive reading. Easy transport, mass-production, the cinema, Woolworth's, war disturbances are among the causes that are altering the age-old features of Ireland under our very eyes, so that these books, based so largely on observation, are records that do not appear a day too soon. J. R.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE IRISH COUNTRYSIDE. By Seán P. O'Ríordáin, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A. Cork : University Press. 1943. 5s. net.

THE purpose of this beautifully printed and beautifully produced small volume is " to give some answer to the questioning man in the street, who asks the archæologist for a simple explanation of some monument which he has noticed in the countryside and which is, in all probability, a typical example of a class of antiquity widespread throughout Ireland." How rich our country is in remains of vanished civilizations is indicated by the fact that this book deals exclusively with types that are older than the introduction of Christianity.

Forts, in their various forms—lios, dún, ráth, caiseal, cathair—number apparently more than 30,000. Some are simple enclosures, 50 feet or so in diameter with a single surrounding ditch or wall. Others are protected by triple ramparts and have a diameter of about 400 feet. Great hill-top fortresses, like the old Leinster capital at Ailend, Co. Kildare, and the celebrated fort at Moghane, Co. Clare, enclose within their boundaries land sufficient to make farms of no mean size. One such fort near Belfast was in occupation about 2,000 B.C., or earlier. Excavation has shown that others were occupied in the late Bronze Age, the Iron Age, the early Christian and Viking periods, in mediæval and even in comparatively recent times. The houses within them were built of stone and wood. Protection for families and flocks against invaders and wolves was afforded by the fosses and banks. Wooden palisades or thick hedges of thorn, no doubt, strengthened the defence at the top of earthen ramparts. Those who have seen the high-walled stone forts at Staigue, Co. Kerry, and at Ailech, Co. Donegal, must bear away a very favourable impression of the ability of the ancient builders. Remarkable, too, in many cases, is the elaborate system of defence. The *chevaux-de-frise* on the Aran islands would not be regarded lightly even by a modern tank-commander. Souterrains, or artificially-constructed caves, were extremely common. They were well-drained, well-ventilated, provided with traps against unwelcome visitors, and were sometimes so extensive that they formed a kind of underground village. The analogy with our own times suggests only too clearly their main purpose :—they were the shelters in which ancient man found refuge when attacked by hostile forces.

Not all houses were built within forts. The oldest stone house-site known in Ireland, that of the Neolithic Age excavated at Lough Gur, Co. Limerick, lies isolated on a slope beside the lake. This house was rectangular in form. The corbelled type of dwelling—seen in " St. Kevin's Kitchen," Glendalough, and in the bee-

hive huts that still survive on Sceilg Mhichíl—was based on a technique that came to this country from the Mediterranean.

Very interesting are the mounds called *fulachta fiadh* or *fulachta fiann*, the cooking place traditionally associated with Finn Mac Cumhail and the Fiana. Fairly numerous (about 250 in all are known) were the crannógs or artifically constructed islands in lakes. The best known of these islands, that at Lagore, Co. Meath, was built late in the eighth century and was occupied until the tenth century by an important local dynastic family. But such safe dwelling-places were constructed also, it would seem, in the Iron Age, the Bronze Age, and even in Neolithic times. Crannógs are sometimes to be met with in bogs; and there, too, other structures of wood and hearths of stone are occasionally found.

Many hundreds of megalithic or chambered tombs are scattered throughout Ireland. The finest of these are the large tumuli known as Newgrange, Dowth and Knowth in the old cemetery of Brugh na Bóinne. Megalithic tombs of a somewhat similar type, common in parts of northern Ireland, are known as "horned cairns." The simplest form of megalithic grave is the dolmen, where a number of upright pillars are often crowned by a capstone of immense size and weight. Many isolated standing stones were originally placed in position to serve the same purpose as modern grave-stones. There were also stone alignments and stone circles, though none of the last-mentioned equalled the famous circle at Stonehenge in impressiveness. The group of about a dozen circles of various types at Lough Gur, Co. Limerick, include some of the most remarkable in Ireland.

A feature of Professor O'Ríordáin's well-planned work is the illustrations. There are no less than forty-seven photographs and four diagrams. With such a book in his hand the engineer, the teacher, the farmer, or anybody else who happens to be interested, should be able to find his way easily to a good general understanding of the antiquities which he may encounter in the course of his work or of his studies in the Irish countryside. J. R.

POLITICS

FRANCE. By Pierre Maillaud. Oxford University Press. "The World Today" Series. 1942. 3s. 6d.

BEFORE venturing upon any criticism of this book, it will be well to set forth its scope and some of its leading ideas. In the brief compass of 134 pages—closely printed, it is true—the author has contrived to give a wonderfully comprehensive account of his country past and present, together with forecasts of her future. He begins with a picture of France, her empire, and her resources in 1939. Next he glances back through French history, tracing in particular France's policy towards Germany from the days of Richelieu to our own. He is an admirer of Richelieu's policy, which was to weaken and divide Germany. But he is critical of Napoleon and still more of the Second Empire. As for the Third Republic his conclusion is: "When in November 1918 Foch, General of the Republic, imposed an armistice on Germany on behalf of the Allied and Associated Powers, the third Republic had done its duty to France in Europe, overseas, and in the world. Indeed, no previous régime had served France better, and not only France, but European civilisation." (p. 38).

This historical retrospect is followed by chapters on the French people and on the "French mind" and French culture. M. Maillaud dwells on the Frenchman's strong feeling for the nation as distinct from the State—"régimes and governments will change, France will go on." The French people is a nation rather than a race." "They are bound together," he writes, "by common memories, common traditions of thought, action, and behaviour, and not by ethnological or so-called racial ties." Their history has left a legacy of conflicting tendencies, political beliefs,

and aspirations. He thinks his countrymen " perhaps the most democratically-minded people in the world." They are also individualists, not so much in defence of personal freedom against despotic power as in defence of the family against state encroachment or interference. The author accepts with but slight reservations the analysis of French society into two types : *le rouge et le noir*, the reds progressive, revolutionary, anti-clerical, Jacobin, romantic in the Rousseau sense, democratic ; the black conservative, orderly, Catholic, classic, aristocratic, Latin. He notes the contrast in the French character between two mental attitudes—seriousness towards matters which affect the individual, merely theoretic and speculative interest in problems affecting the community or the world at large. Another cleavage in French society is that between the peasantry and the industrial classes.

In fifteen pages the author sketches the history of French literature and art. His outlook is purely secular. The Catholic names in French literature receive but scant mention.[1]

The second part of the book is entitled " The French Crisis in the Twentieth Century." The problem which most of all preoccupies M. Maillaud is that of the population of France as compared with that of Germany. Roughly speaking that of France is forty millions and it has not increased since 1913, that of Germany is eighty millions and it is increasing. Of the actual physical (and moral) cause of the decline of the French birth-rate he says nothing. Probably he takes it for granted. He mentions economic causes and also the terrible fact that in the Great War the total of French casualties amounted to 73 per cent. of the number of men mobilized in the four years of the war (p. 68). In 1939 the country had not yet recovered from that. The author seeks not so much a remedy for this demographic inferiority as a series of offsets. One of these is a system of alliances with a view to restoring the balance of power. Another is a change-over from what he thinks an excess of rural population to progressive urbanization and concentration of industries on the model of England—and Germany. This, contrary as it is to the French tradition and way of life, he regrets as a dire necessity. This idea is worked out in great detail and reinforced by facts and statistics.

Among the most interesting portions of the book are chapter VII " An Endemic Revolution " and chapter VIII " Intellectual and Moral Hamletism." It is a study of the French internal crisis since 1934. " The last ten years have shown that there exists an inherent and fundamental contradiction within a nation between the notion of power and the notion of individual freedom " (p. 83). France inclined, he thinks, to an excess of the latter. " She allowed social evolution to manifest itself in its most acute form and in complete freedom of expression without seriously endeavouring to meet its profound requirements." Social reform, in fact, lagged seriously behind that of neighbouring countries, and, on the other hand, " the French system of parties was altogether anachronistic (p. 86), because, not unlike our own, it was based on historical memories and traditions rather than on hard economic facts. The infiltration of foreign ideologies tended to envenom a situation already tense : in 1939 there were five million foreigners in France. Chapter VIII traces the intellectual trends and currents of the years before the war.

The last three chapters deal with the French defeat and the state of France under the Germans, with a final study of the relations between England and France. These chapters are illuminating.

The book is admirably written and is instinct with life and vigorous thought. It may seem invidious, in the case of so short a book, to call attention to omissions. Unfortunately there are omissions which seriously impair the value of certain con-

[1] Among names not mentioned are those of St. Francis de Sales, Fénelon, Bossuet, de Maistre, Veuillot, Montalembert, Bremond, Bazin.

clusions. His praise, qualified it is true, of the Revolution makes no mention of its persecution of religion, while his dispraise of Napoleon fails to mention his restoration of religion. There is no mention either of the bitter anti-clericalism of the Third Republic during the greater part of its career, in fact from 1875 to the Great War, including its suppression and banishment of the religious orders in the first years of this century and its constant effort towards state monopoly in education. The influence of Freemasonry is not alluded to. The two pages (100-101) devoted to the Church's influence are distantly respectful, but quite inadequate. Georges Bernanos is alluded to as a fervent Catholic writer.[2]

Such shortcomings, however regrettable, do not seriously impair the greater part of an excellent book. S. J. B.

Music

THE LATCH-KEY TO MUSIC. By J. D. M. Rorke. London: Oxford University Press. 1942. 2s.

About the beginning of this century a man with a club-foot won the Lawn Tennis Championship of Ireland. Mr. Rorke has performed a more astonishing feat: with only a slight knowledge of *sol-fa* and the ability to play the piano with one finger, he has made himself into a music critic of reliable taste and power of expression. Needless to say, he has not much to observe about harmony. He can only perform miracles, not impossibilities. But his remarks on melody are competent and penetrating. That is to say, he has the root of the matter in him.

His thesis in this book is that the latch-key to the appreciation of music is thinking about particular tunes. To gain the right pleasure from the classics, one must in spare moments deliberately recall their themes and explore them strenuously to discover in them the causes of one's pleasure. He is stressing the often-forgotten truth that passive listening will probably never reveal the important significance of the simplest strain, but only an alert inspection of its content. The nature of this inspection, though only called " thinking " in this book, may more precisely be called feeling for a feeling. It begins with an attempt to assess the general mood evoked by a tune, then analyses that mood, and finally traces the genesis of its parts or constituent emotions to this or that characteristic of the tune. Mr. Rorke in all this is a sound observer, though he overrates the power of visible imagery to express musical moods.

At first sight his plan has one fatal defect. It is practically impossible to know what is worth memorising, or even to memorise it, until one likes it. Therefore one must like the music before learning how to like it by Mr. Rorke's method. But the difficulty is not really grave. It is true that one must begin by liking for one's own nameless reasons *some* tune. But the perception, by dint of study, of what has caused one's pleasure in that tune qualifies one to find pleasure in less obvious melodies, until at last one is able to judge of the most formidably abstruse music. In short this novel and disagreeable suggestion of Mr. Rorke's, that we must work to enjoy music, is actually a discovery of a short cut to the appreciation of music, though it is less a latch-key than a pantry window for the enterprising and resolute.

A. L.

---

[2] M. Maillaud is speaking of the book *Les grands cimetières sous la lune*, an intemperate and insulting attack on the Spanish clergy.

The list of books received has been unavoidably held over.

University College
DUBLIN

A Constituent College of
The National University of Ireland

SESSION 1942-43

THE College provides Courses for the Degrees of the National University of Ireland in the Faculties of Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies, Science, Law, Medicine, Engineering and Architecture, and Commerce.

The following Regulations for the College Courses, etc., may be obtained on application :—

1. General Regulations, Scholarships, Fees.
2. Courses for Degrees in Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies.
3. Courses for Degrees in Science.
4. Courses for Degrees in Law.
5. Courses for Degrees in Medicine and Dentistry.
6. Courses for Degrees in Engineering and Architecture.
7. Courses for Degrees in Commerce.

College Scholarships and Prizes to the value of about £3,500 (not including Scholarships provided by the Corporation of Dublin and by the County Councils) are open to competition amongst Student-Members of the College.

Letters in reference to Courses of Study should be addressed to the Registrar of the College, Earlsfort Terrace. All Students' Fees due to the College are to be paid to the SECRETARY, University College, Dublin.

The College Offices at Earlsfort Terrace are open daily.

The
Catholic Charities Review

A Monthly Magazine which discusses the Facts, Problems and Methods of Charity and Related Social Questions.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION FIVE SHILLINGS

Rt. Rev. Mgr. JOHN O'GRADY
Ph.D., LL.D., Editor

Rt. Rev. Mgr. JOHN A. RYAN
D.D., LL.D., Contributing Editor

The Catholic University of America
WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A.

READERS
of
STUDIES
can obtain three free specimen copies of
THE TABLET
(*The oldest and premier Catholic Newspaper and Review now under the control of Douglas Woodruff, T. F. Burns, Christopher Hollis and F. W. Chambers*)

by sending a post-card to The Tablet
39 Paternoster Row, London, E.C.4

Telegrams—"HOSIERY, DUBLIN." Telephone No. 21770.

KENNEDY & McSHARRY

Shirt Makers, Hosiers, Hatters
and General Outfitters. :: :.

24 WESTMORELAND STREET,
—— And 3 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN

Wherever you're going
the Seeds they're
Sowing

are

ROWAN'S

For the wise Farmer and the wise Gardener
Need the Best and get the Best from

M. ROWAN & CO. LTD.

Suppliers of Finest Seeds for over half a century

Your Enquiries and Orders will receive careful and prompt attention if addressed to M. ROWAN & CO., LTD., 51, 52 CAPEL STREET, or 1, 2 WESTMORELAND STREET

Telegrams : ROWAN, DUBLIN — **DUBLIN** — Telephone : 75105 (3 lines)

FARRELL'S

Telephone 43426.

FUNERAL AND CARRIAGE ESTABLISHMENT
:: SALOON MOTOR HEARSES and CARS ::

66 MARLBOROUGH STREET

Established over 100 Years. DUBLIN

KENNEDY'S BREAD

FINEST QUALITY

· · MADE · ·

BAKERIES

124 to 130 GREAT BRITAIN STREET

AND

ST. PATRICK'S BAKERY DUBLIN

ALEX. THOM & CO., LTD.

PRINTERS, PUBLISHERS,
BOOKBINDERS, STATIONERS

LARGE RESOURCES FOR PRINTING IN GAELIC

Books, Magazines and Periodicals
produced by Latest Methods.

Try "THOM'S" for your next Printing Order.
Our Service and our Prices will please you.
"Studies" is a specimen of our work. :: ::

Head Offices: CROW STREET

WORKS :: :: BOTANIC ROAD, GLASNEVIN

CLERYS

NEW POLICY

Mr. Denis Guiney's policy of lower profits and bargain prices always is now in full force in every department of this great store. The same quality you have been used to getting now sells at keenly competitive prices.

Dine in CLERYS RESTAURANT

Popular 4 course Luncheon served from 12.30 to 3.30 p.m. Special teas from 4 p.m.

CLERYS of DUBLIN

CLERY & CO., (1941) LTD. *Managing Director* DENIS GUINEY

McEvoys.

FURNITURE *by* O'DEA

studies in lasting beauty!

Each piece of O'D Furniture is a work of art in itself, the product of careful thought and skilled workmanship by Irish Artist Craftsmen. Lasting beauty has been built into O'D Furniture and beauty has been combined with utility. It stands the test of time, and after all that is the true test of excellent work. Furnish with O'D—you'll be glad you did—now and many years hence.

O'DEA & CO. LTD.

Stafford Street and Parkgate Street - Dublin.

ESTABLISHED 1824

T. W. & J. KELLY, LTD.

Oldest House for Pure Altar Wines

Price List on application

Offices and Vaults :—

58 UPPER O'CONNELL STREET, DUBLIN

Telephone No.: 43095 *Telegrams : "Threekays, Dublin"*

No connection with any other firm of the same name

PROGRESSIVE IRISH FARMERS are . . . .

GROWING MORE

SUGAR BEET

A Cash Crop with a Guaranteed Market and Price

FEEDING MORE

MOLASSED BEET PULP

A Cheap and Efficient Stock Food

APPLYING MORE

FACTORY LIME

A Valuable Product for Correcting Acid Soils

BECAUSE—Practical Experience has shown that

IT PAYS THEM

COMHLUCHT SIUICRE EIREANN TEO., 7 CLARE STREET, DUBLIN

D. MURPHY LTD.

PROVISION MERCHANTS

Over half a century's reputation

25-26 MARY'S ABBEY, DUBLIN

PHONE: DUBLIN 75171

The best that money can buy

"SWEET AFTON"

BANKS SIZE CIGARETTES

10 *for* 8½D 20 *for* 1/5

(*without coupons*)

If you study dietetics . . .

Students of dietetics discovered years ago that, for genuine health-giving nourishment, cheese stands in a class of its own. People more concerned with flavour have discovered that there is no cheese made that can compare with any of the now famous three—Galtee, the cream cheese, Whitethorn, the delicious gruyere, and Three Counties, the new spreadable cheese. Remember *for health* and flavour they are unbeatable.

GALTEE, WHITETHORN

and

THREE COUNTIES

Mitchelstown Creameries, Mitchelstown, Co. Cork

PRINTED BY SEALY BRYERS & WALKER, DUBLIN.